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University of Toronto Studies

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

VOL. XII

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

EDITED BY

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HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1907. Pp. x, 622.

Papers laid before the Colonial Conference, 1907. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1907. Pp. ix, 591.

Some Reflections on the Coming Conference. By Viscount Milner. (The National Review, April, 1907, pp. 193-206.)

The Colonial Premiers. By E. B. Osborn. (The Monthly Review, April, 1907, pp. 107-122.)

The Colonial Conference. By Geoffrey Drage. (The Fortnightly Review, April, 1907, pp. 635-645.)

Imperial Unity and the Colonial Conference. (The Quarterly Review, January, 1907, pp. 1-24.)

The Colonial Conference. (Ibid., April, 1907, pp. 504-515.)

The Last Colonial Conference. (Ibid., July, 1907, pp. 273-295.)

Colonial Preferential Tariffs. (The Edinburgh Review, April, 1907, pp. 380-464.)

The Colonial Conference. (Ibid., July, 1907, pp. 199-225.)

The Colonial Conference, The Cobden Club's Reply to the Preferential Proposals. London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1907. Pp. 112.

The Problem of Empire. By the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper. (The Nineteenth Century and After, May, 1907, pp. 701-714.)

Canada, under what Flag? By C. (The Monthly Review, January, 1907, pp. 30-45.)

The two huge volumes dealing with the last Colonial Conference are practically a survey of the relations at the present

time between the self-governing portions of the British Empire. The Colonial Conference consisted chiefly in conversations between some dozen gentlemen gathered round a table in the Colonial Office at London. Of course set speeches were made, but these were constantly interrupted and the speakers were subjected to prolonged cross-examination. This was especially true in the debates on preferential trade, during which Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George were subject to a fire of questions from Mr. Deakin, the Prime Minister of Australia, Dr. Jameson, of Cape Colony, and others. The silent members of the Conference were Lord Elgin, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and General Botha. Probably General Botha, although well able to follow proceedings in English, hesitated to express himself on the subject. Lord Elgin was there to listen, not to talk, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier had no great changes to propose. Obviously he went to the Conference resolved to oppose any new developments in political relations. One feels that Sir Wilfrid had always in his mind a vision of Mr. Bourassa finding in the Conference new material for an anti-imperialist campaign in the province of Quebec. What effect this might have in Sir Wilfrid's own stronghold was uncertain. Since the Conference Mr. Bourassa has met with overwhelming defeat. Perhaps the Canadian Prime Minister would have been less timid had this taken place six months earlier.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier opposed a permanent Imperial "Council" as distinguished from a Conference. He also opposed a permanent secretariat which should involve any change in the present relations to the Colonial Office. On the question of military defence the Conference agreed that an Imperial general staff should be developed, and in consequence we may expect in the near future a considerable interchange of general staff officers between Great Britain and Canada, the idea being to have a single type of army organization.

On the question of naval defence a good deal was said at the Conference. Lord Tweedmouth, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was emphatic in asserting that the naval forces of the Empire must be under single control. "There is one sea, there is one Empire, and there is one navy, and I want to claim in the

first place your help, and in the second place authority for the Admiralty to manage this great service without restraint" (p. 129). He added some astounding statistics as to Great Britain's supremacy in regard to shipping. "Last year, in 1906, Great Britain's output of shipping amounted to no less than 1,936,793 tons. The United States had an output of 486,650 tons; Germany, 384,614 tons, and France, 58,502 tons. The output of all foreign nations amounted to 1,319,900 tons, so that last year Great Britain led by no less than 616,893 tons all the other nations in the world" (p. 129). When statements were laid before the Conference to the effect that Canada was doing nothing for naval defence Mr. Brodeur objected. Canada, he declared, was protecting both her Atlantic and Pacific fisheries. She also furnishes the only protection provided on the great lakes. At the present time she is building a cruiser to cost $500,000, and she has assumed, or will assume, the expense of keeping up the great docks at Vancouver and Esquimalt. Lord Tweedmouth admitted that Canada is doing more than she is generally credited with. He added frankly that whether the dependencies did much or little Great Britain accepted full responsibility for the naval defence of the Empire. The Imperial Government wished aid, but would not beg for it, and he suggested the form that aid other than money grants might take:—the equipment and maintenance of docks and coaling facilities and of the smaller accessories to a great fleet, such as torpedo boats and submarines. Well-trained men in these vessels would, he declared, be of enormous service. He laid special emphasis upon the building of docks to accommodate such huge ships as the *Dreadnought*. Mr. Brodeur said that both parties in Canada were strong in objecting to cash contributions to the Imperial navy. His position, in a word, is that if Canada is to have a navy it must be a navy of her own, used to relieve Great Britain of responsibility by so much.

The most lively debates in the Conference were on the tariff question. Mr. Deakin, of Australia, was the champion of preferential trade, and he pressed his views with great energy. He must, indeed, have said three times as much at the Conference as did any other member. Of course, the present Liberal Gov-

ernment resisted the slightest concession to preferential trade views, and it must be admitted that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George made exceedingly able presentments for free trade. So far from accepting the oft-repeated statement that British trade is declining, they dwelt on its enormous expansion since 1902. Mr. Deakin was advocating a theory; the two British ministers were expounding facts. They claimed and had statistics to show that even in the protected countries of Europe British trade is growing more rapidly than is the trade of any other country. They dwelt especially on the enormous recent expansion of cotton manufactures, which has indeed been very striking.

If we try to estimate the results of the Conference we shall find that it was not wholly fruitless. Already the Colonial Office has been reorganized so that the self-governing Dominions are in a class by themselves. If it were not already clear, the Conference has made it finally clear that treaties affecting dependencies are only valid with their consent, a substantial concession toward the fuller treaty-making power. The whole tone of the Conference, indeed, emphasized the practical nationhood of each great dependency. Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke on hardly more than three questions, defence, preferential trade and his own proposition for a fast merchant service connecting Great Britain, Canada and Australia. This would mean, on the Atlantic, rivals in speed to the *Lusitania,* a journey from Liverpool to Vancouver in eight days, and an eighteen-knot service, at least, from Vancouver to Sydney. It is a large order, and, though the Conference approved of the proposal, difficulties in the way are very great. Enormous subsidies would be necessary and the service would be available only for passengers and light freight.

The second volume cited above contains the official papers laid before the Conference. The copious statements regarding preferential trade are of great value.

The Conference was much discussed in the more serious English Reviews. Lord Milner's appeal that it should do something to make the Empire "one body politic" naturally attracted attention. He is not content that the Empire should consist of "permanently allied nations." He wishes organic union, and

to this preferential tariffs will, he thinks, lead. His conclusions are, however, very vague. Mr. E. B. Osborn, in an article in the *Monthly Review,* undertook to introduce the colonial premiers to the British public. He begins with an appreciative sketch of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose Imperialism is, however, not quite thorough-going enough. He speaks of Sir Robert Bond's "curiously decorative courtesy which proved as 'interesting' to the London shepherdesses in the gala year of 1902 as it was 'fascinating' to the envoy-collecting hostesses of eclectic Washington." Mr. Deakin, it appears, is so fascinating that, according to a rival, he can "throw a halo of attraction around the orifice of Hades."

Mr. Drage devotes his article on the Conference to urging that at least "a properly equipped Intelligence Department for the civil affairs of the Empire" may result. The *Quarterly Review* had three long articles, the burden of which was to urge a better organization of the common interests of the Empire. It would have had the Crown Colonies and India represented in the Conference so as to make it in truth an organ for expressing the opinion of the whole Empire. It regretted that the Conference took no step towards closer trade relations. The *Edinburgh Review,* on the other hand, holds a brief against preferential trade. It declares that propinquity necessarily draws Canada and the United States closer together in trade matters, and that preferential tariffs could not alter this. The article dealing with the results of the Conference is very able. It goes very far, indeed, towards suggesting the independence of the Colonies as soon as they can take care of themselves.

> "We must, for the present at all events, be ready to defend them, however much we may encourage them to help themselves. But we do not wish them to make such a contribution to our armaments as would give them a right to any voice in their disposal. The time might come when we should be obliged to say that they must look to themselves alone. The time has come—and of this we have been warned by the attitude of Newfoundland to the United States, and by vague possibilities in the future relations of Japan and Australia—when we should point out that one condition of our guardianship is that they should do nothing of their own accord to embroil us with any of the foreign powers with whom, quite apart from them, we have close and valuable relations, or with whom, in matters small or great, they themselves independently may be brought into hazardous contact."

This is a note very different from that of the *Quarterly.* The

Edinburgh ridicules Mr. Deakin for thinking that since Britain once had a monopoly of the world's trade she should always retain it, and points out that commercial expansion is a dominant factor in the life of all modern states. The change began about 1875. The writer maintains that Great Britain is more than holding her place. Bringing together the statistics of Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States, he points out that while Great Britain had one-fifth of the population of these states in 1904, she had 36 per cent. of the total foreign trade, and that in 1907 she would have not less than 40 per cent. He charges that the colonies exclude Great Britain by protective tariffs from their own market and at the same time demand a monopoly of the British market. He is perhaps unnecessarily acrid but writes with great skill.

The Cobden Club issued a reply to the preferential proposals and discussed the whole question of the benefits of preference. The pamphlet explains elaborately why Canada has a greater trade with the United States than with Great Britain. Canada's attitude at the Conference is commended.

> "She desires no Imperial council of any sort, no Imperial court of appeal, will enter no scheme for Imperial defence which fetters her present freedom, and no tariff arrangement which involves her in any common action. She simply desires to be free to make her own arrangements with the mother country and the sister colonies on terms of equality as government with government, entering upon any specific concrete co-operation which by her independent action she approves, but rejecting any invitation to bind her tariff policy, or her measures of defence."

Sir Charles Tupper, discussing the problem of Empire, goes out of his way to commend the attitude of the Canadian government at the Conference. In the same magazine Mr. J. Ellis Barker draws a disturbing picture of the dangers to Britain from the United States and Germany, and answers his own question, "Will the British Empire stand or fall?", that it will fall, unless during the next decade the colonies come to the military aid of the mother country. An anonymous writer asks the question, "Canada, under what Flag?" He thinks Canada is already more American than English and that even an intellectual preference will not alter the fact that Canadians read American books and understand their peculiarities of language.

> "I pick up an American ten-cent magazine, published in New York, and come across a few expressions such as these—'Simoleons,' 'start a

rough house,' 'wise guys,' 'a husky mitt,' 'the main squeeze of this burg.' How many Englishmen could translate them at sight, even if they read them with the context? But almost any Canadian farmer, or immigrant of a few years' standing in the West, understands them with perfect ease."

As a comment upon this the present writer may say that though he has lived in Canada all his life he has never heard a single one of these phrases. The article lays great emphasis on the effects of the Alaska Boundary Award and thinks that Newfoundland is likely to fare as Canada did in the earlier dispute. He urges Englishmen to travel more in Canada but ends with the grim prophecy that China and Japan may step in and that

"in a few generations [Canada] may be neither under the Union Jack, nor under the Stars and Stripes, but under a new heraldic combination of the two, charged with the maple leaf and the Southern Cross, and other strange devices possibly non-existent to-day."

Two papers read before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1906-7* have reference to Canadian affairs,—Mr. Richard Jebb's *Notes on Imperial Organization,* an article on the lines of his well known book, and Mr. L. Griffith's *Some Phases of Canada's Development.* Quoting Sir John Macdonald and others, Mr. Griffith, who is Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada, attacked British diplomacy as having been weak and careless in regard to Canada's interests. Dr. Parkin, in commenting upon his paper, joined issue with him. He quoted the view that Canada is in any case safe because of the Monroe Doctrine and that Great Britain must for her own sake maintain her present navy as an excuse for Canada's doing nothing, and poured scorn upon it.

"I believe that to-day at least £150,000,000 of the National Debt, which bears heavily upon this country, was spent in those wars which finally secured Canada for the Canadians, and the charge of that debt is paid by the British people to-day exclusively."

Dr. Parkin added,

"Canada has come to a position where she must soon take her place among the great nations of the world, and she must not only claim her rights but assume her responsibilities. The day is rapidly approaching, I believe, when the Canadian farmer, who sends his wheat and meat and other food-stuffs across the seas, will be ashamed to have it said that the workmen of England should bear the whole cost of the protection given to it."

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* *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute.* Edited by the Secretary. Vol. xxxviii, 1906-1907. Pp. 4-36, 289-315.

Mr. Walter Meakin's *The Life of an Empire** is an attempt to estimate the growth of political forces in England until we have their result in the Empire of to-day. The most striking feature, according to the author, is the development of the power of the working man, who is now the ruler of the British Empire. In his sketch of society in the different parts of the Empire Mr. Meakin includes an appreciative account of the Canadian farmer, and notes, what is often not understood, that there are more signs of life in the country in eastern Canada than in England, because each farmer tills his own land and lives on it, while in England the labourers live together in villages and large areas are unpeopled. The colonial farmer will not be patronized. "No man must presume on his birth, position, or wealth, and if he does so he is more likely to be despised than respected. . . . The condescension and patronage of a young gentleman would cause the ridicule of a farm-hand in any of the colonies" (p. 81). Mr. Meakin attacks protection and has a plan of his own for Imperial Federation. There is to be a Federal Parliament on the model of that of Australia; defence is to be its chief care. Local statesmen will be ambitious to enter upon this larger arena; the colonies will pay their share, and so on. Mr. Meakin is probably not aware that in 1776 Adam Smith outlined a plan similar to this. Nearly a century and a half have brought us no nearer to a realization of the dream.

Mr. Joseph P. Widney's *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples*† is an interesting book. Among other things the second volume discusses why the French and Spanish failed and the English succeeded in America. The Spaniard went to a warmer climate than his own, the Frenchman to a colder one, and neither could adjust himself rapidly to the changed conditions; the Englishman, on the other hand, found a climate substantially like that at home. This enabled him to make a better beginning, and when

* *The Life of an Empire.* By Walter Meakin. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907. Pp. vii, 335.

† *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples.* By Joseph P. Widney. Volume ii: The New World. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1907. Pp. vii, 359.

the time came to occupy the West he was at ease in America and could rapidly adjust himself to new conditions. At the present day we are somewhat prone to think that the Irishman and the Scot make better colonists than the Englishman. Mr. Widney, however, holds that the dominant type of the American West is essentially English. The Englishman has transferred himself thither from the mother land for his own good, just as earlier Englishmen, for the same reason, went from Germany to Britain. As developed in America he is less corpulent, fuller chested, more erect, cleaner limbed than his prototype in England, so that in North America he seems to have found his true home. In England he is insular, in America he is continental in outlook. Incidentally Mr. Widney praises English education in contrast with that of Germany as emphasizing character more than learning. The New Englishman of the West cares not much for scholarship, but everything for character. What religion he has is real; his speech, if slangy, is terse; he is, above all, a man. Mr. Widney is not always quite accurate in his history. He states for instance, that the French did not bring their women to America. He is on safer ground when he points out that the English mingled their blood less with the American natives than did the French. The English race thus retained its purity and capacity to dominate, while the French lost status. The book is a series of speculations, always interesting, if not always sound. Mr. Widney hopes to see established a Council of the English-speaking peoples, which should mean their standing together for common purposes all over the world.

The Colonials in South Africa, 1899-1902: Their Record, based on the Despatches. By John Stirling. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907. Pp. xii, 497.

Imperial Outposts, from a Strategical and Commercial Aspect, with special reference to the Japanese Alliance. By Colonel A. M. Murray. With a Preface by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts. Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray, 1907. Pp. xxiv, 210.

Neither of these works is Canadian history, but each is

concerned with that "contemporary history" which Lord Acton found the most interesting of all; and both are interesting to Canadians in their different ways. Captain Stirling's *Colonials in South Africa* is a capably compiled epitome of what the contingents from Greater Britain did under the official eye, and of what the official dispatches said about them. The Canadian contingents have their own historians, and the *Times* History, the German Staff History, and the Official History give the whole record of the war as a military operation. This book is simply an unpretending effort to bring all the oversea contingents into line and state the distinguished service officially recorded in favour of each.

Imperial outposts are a matter of growing concern to Canada; so is the Japanese alliance; so are all the intricate ramifications of world-politics. Every ton Canadians ship, east or west, increases the sensitiveness of their national nerves in direct proportion to the increase of the realized resources and readiness for defence. "Hong Kong, the biggest Port in the World," the title of Chapter x, has a meaning for Canada now that it never had before this century. The whole book, a very short one, is worth attentive study; but the issues it raises are so large and so general, and many of them are so much a matter of controversy, that we cannot enter on any discussion of them here.

Chapters xvii and xviii are called "What Canada is doing for the Empire" and "The military weakness of Canada." They may be read with great advantage by those good people who think "it will be all right when the time comes." The fact is that Canada does not realize her growing national and international responsibilities nearly so fast as she does her growing material wealth. Probably no other nation, similarly situated, would. But, looking at the world as a whole, in its potentially mail-fisted aspect, no one who really studies such problems can fail to see that many old troubles are by no means done with, and that the less advanced parts of the world seem no longer as likely to submit tamely to even the most pacific kind of English-speaking, or even white-man, penetration now as they did a generation since.

WILLIAM WOOD

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The History of New France. By Marc Lescarbot. With an English Translation, Notes and Appendices, by W. L. Grant, and an Introduction by H. P. Biggar. Vol. I. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1907. Pp. xxi, 331. Maps.

The Champlain Society, founded a few years ago for the purpose of publishing important historical material relating to Canada, has just given to the public its first volume, the French text and an English translation of the "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France," by Marc Lescarbot. Success in such an undertaking requires that learning and pecuniary means should be brought together: the Champlain Society has accomplished it. The fears of those who doubted whether a Canadian society could hope to emulate the work of the Prince Society or the Hakluyt Society have been proved to be groundless. In mechanical execution the volume is unsurpassed by the work of any other society.

The Society was fortunate in selecting for the present work Mr. Biggar and Mr. Grant, who have shown themselves eminently fitted for it by their exact information and their literary taste. The book opens with an introduction by Mr. Biggar, consisting of a short biography of Lescarbot, which is not only the first written in English, but one of the fullest yet produced. There were few materials for it. Bayle and Moréri merely mention the name of Lescarbot. The articles in the dictionaries of Michaud and Didot are full of errors. Piette, in his "Histoire de la ville de Vervins" (the native place of Lescarbot), devotes only a page to him. The "Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire" of Jal reproduces the registered record of his marriage, and gives a few new details, which are completed by M. de Marsy in a note published in 1868, and by Gabriel Marcel in a communication to the *Revue de Géographie,* in 1885. The sources are thus few; and yet Mr. Biggar has succeeded in putting together a much more complete biography than the one standing at the head of the latest French edition of Lescarbot, published by Tross, at Paris, in 1866.

Nothing is known of Lescarbot's family, and the little we know of his own life has been derived from indications scattered through his writings. He was born at Vervins, a town of Picardy; and he was chosen in 1598, when about the age of twenty-eight, to pronounce an address to the Cardinal de Médicis, who had been delegated by Pope Clement XIII to negotiate the treaty of Vervins between France and Spain. The Latin speeches which Lescarbot delivered on this occasion were printed, and they are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Only one of them was known until a few years ago, when Mr. Biggar discovered another, besides the French version already mentioned by Marsy in 1868.

In 1599, the year in which he was admitted as an *avocat* to the *parlement,* Lescarbot translated from the Latin and published two small works of Cardinal Baronius, one treating of the union of the Coptic Church with that of Rome, the other concerning the request for union made to the Holy See by the Synod of Kiev. Very well read, with a thorough knowledge of the classics, able to speak and understand equally well Greek, Latin, and French, and also having some knowledge of Hebrew, Lescarbot cultivated from his youth the additional accomplishment of the art of verse. In 1592 he wrote verses to the Dame de Coucy, the Seignioress of Vervins, who had negotiated a private peace between that town and Capelle-en-Thiérache, then in the possession of the Spaniards. Having gone to Paris to practise his profession, Lescarbot lost a suit, and, disgusted with the justice of men, "desiring to flee from a corrupt society," as he himself says, he embarked for America, in 1606, with Jean de Poutrincourt, who was a Picardian like himself, and whose barony was not far from Vervins. He spent twelve months at Port Royal in Acadia, from July, 1606, to July, 1607, returned to France, began searching among the libraries, and in 1609 published his "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France," which comprises not only the story of the settlement founded by Monts in 1604 in Canada, and the stay which he made there himself, but also the narrative of the establishment of the French in America down to 1609—whether in Brazil or in Florida—as well as the explorations of Verrazano, Cartier and Champlain. Lescarbot was too much

of a poet not to accompany his volume with some verse, and he added a complete collection—"Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France." The book met with success. A paraphrase version of it in English by Erondelle appeared at once, and this is reproduced in part in the Harleian Collection of 1745. Lescarbot himself published new editions in 1611 and 1612. Between times he had kept himself informed of all that was going on in the little colony of Port Royal, for which he had retained much affection; and Harrisse gives the names of two pamphlets which he published, one in 1610, concerning the conversion of the Indians, the other in 1612, relative to the voyage of Poutrincourt's son. These two pamphlets were incorporated in the great edition of 1612.

In 1613, when Lescarbot was travelling in Switzerland, a small abridgment of his History was published in German at Augsburg. From this Swiss journey, which he made in company with the son of the "Président" Jeannin, he brought back and published a poem of 1,744 lines, entitled "Tableau de la Suisse," which was published in full only last year in *La Montagne* (the journal conducted by the Alpine Clubs of France), and was also the subject of a curious article in the Paris *Journal des Débats*. It is a singular coincidence that two works of Lescarbot appeared in 1907—one in verse at Paris, and the other in its English prose dress at Toronto.

Some authorities say that Lescarbot issued another edition of his History in 1617, but this is not certain. The final edition, completed and revised by himself, printed in 1618, is the one which the Champlain Society has begun to reissue, giving the complete text in French as well as the English translation. This is the proper edition to consult, and we do not see why Tross should have chosen the edition of 1612 for his magnificent reprint of 1866. We shall, however, now have the advantage of comparing them, and this will be the more interesting as Lescarbot, in his 1618 edition, nettled by certain remarks which Champlain had made about him in his "Voyages," published in 1613, takes occasion to reply. It is also in the 1618 edition that we find Lescarbot's criticism of the contract drawn up between

the Jesuits and the Marquise de Guercheville, in connection with the colony at Port Royal.

The statement has been ventured (Larned, "Literature of American History," No. 3807), but never established, that Lescarbot was a Huguenot, and that he came to America with the intention of founding a Protestant colony with Monts. Apart from his *acte de mariage* discovered by Jal in the archives of the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois at Paris, we have many passages in Lescarbot's writings which prove him to have been a Roman Catholic. Faillon says that his Catholicism was merely nominal, and that at bottom Lescarbot held Calvinistic ideas. It is quite certain that he had a very open mind, that he ridiculed superstitions, and was not well acquainted with the customs of his own church—witness the proposal which he made to the *curé* of La Rochelle, before his departure for America, that he might be allowed to carry with him a supply of the consecrated host.

In this connection, Mr. Grant has discovered a singular fact, viz., that when Lescarbot quotes from the Bible in his writings, he takes by preference the Geneva version, published by Olivetan and revised by Calvin. On the other hand, when he quotes from the Psalms, he does not go to Clément Marot's version, but to that of Philippe Desportes. His is an eclectic, an unprejudiced mind. Charlevoix considers Lescarbot sincere, well educated, reasonable and impartial (*Liste des auteurs,* vi. 390); and we have very similar testimony from all the contemporary writers who concerned themselves with American affairs.

Lescarbot's History is valuable because he collected with such care all that had been written before him regarding the first discoveries of the French in America, and he quotes abundantly from Laudonnière, Léry, Villegagnon and the narratives of Verrazano and Cartier preserved in Ramusio. The part of his work in which he describes the foundation of Port Royal—the first European settlement in Canada—is the best and completest account of the matter. Lescarbot also introduces into his story of the earliest times a tone of gaiety and good-humour which is very pleasing.

In 1619 Lescarbot married an heiress, and became Seignior of Wiencourt and Saint-Audebert near Amiens According to

Jal, he was appointed a Marine Commissary, and published in 1629 "La Chasse aux Anglais dans l'île de Rhé au siège de la Rochelle." He died, it is believed, a few years afterwards, leaving us no more certain regarding the time and manner of his departure than we are of the date of his birth.

Lescarbot was a man of wide reading, and he has the art of making an agreeable narration. Mr. Grant discovers in his style a certain resemblance to Herodotus, and the examples he quotes are characteristic. Lescarbot's French is more like that of Montaigne or Amyot than that of the seventeenth century, and it is not easy to translate. Mr. Grant has sought to give his version something of the "Elizabethan manner," in order to preserve the impression of archaism; and the result is decidedly agreeable.

The volume under review comprises only the first and second books of Lescarbot's History; it will take two other volumes to complete the edition. For the sixth book, Mr. Grant informs us that the text of the version given by Erondelle in 1609 will be the one reproduced. As for the French text, it is perfect, and does great credit to the intelligent patience of compositors and proof-readers, who were probably not familiar with French. It could not have been better done in France. Mr. Biggar and Mr. Grant, as well as the Champlain Society, deserve the sincere congratulations of men of letters for this handsome publication, which marks an era in the literary annals of Canada.

J. EDMOND ROY

Early English and French Voyages, chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608. Edited by Henry S. Burrage. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xxii, 451. (Original Narratives of Early American History.)

Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618. Edited by W. L. Grant. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. xi, 357. (Original Narratives of Early American History.)

In the schools and colleges of the United States there has been, during the last decade or more, a growing disposition to

lay greater emphasis upon the use of source literature in the teaching of American history. The most successful teachers in the high schools and academies now no longer expend their energies in directing pupils to a mastery of some one historical text-book, but by prescribing collateral reading over a considerable area seek to broaden the pupil's horizon and to develop his taste for ranging at large among books. This method of teaching elementary history, when pursued upon a broad scale, requires considerable apparatus in the way of source-books, selections from contemporary writings, reprints of illustrative documents, and so on; and during recent years publications of this nature have been coming from the press at an unusual rate in response to the new demand. The series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* is thus only one of a number of sets which purport to provide, in convenient form and at reasonable cost, selections judiciously chosen from the vast field of contemporary data available for the study of American history. Unlike most compilations of its class, however, this series does not gather together a large number of extracts from sources, but endeavours to present a comparatively small number of contemporary narratives in completeness. That this plan was regarded by historians as the more advantageous is evidenced by the fact that the American Historical Association—the most influential organization of its nature in the United States—agreed to become sponsor for the series and gave the project the hallmark of its approval.

At the present time some four or five volumes out of a considerable list have appeared; and others are promised at frequent intervals. When the undertaking shall have been completed it will be possible for any school to provide itself, at moderate cost, with a comprehensive and well selected compilation of reprints of contemporary narratives covering, in a general way, the entire field of early American history. Professor J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, has, as general editor, supervision of the whole series; but each volume is given in charge to a special editor selected, presumably, for his special qualifications in the particular field with which the narratives deal.

Of the volumes already published two are of especial interest

to Canada as containing English translations of the narratives which Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain gave to posterity concerning their respective explorations in North America. Dr. Burrage, a historical editor well known through his scholarly work in connection with the publications of the Maine Historical Society, has included in his volume of *Early English and French Voyages* the narratives of Cartier's explorations reprinted from Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations.* These *Relations* cover the first three voyages of the St. Malo navigator only; for of the expedition conducted by Cartier to bring home Roberval in 1543 no personal account has ever come to light, although there is every probability that Cartier made record of this as of his previous journeys beyond the seas. Hakluyt's quaint translation of the Cartier journals has been followed throughout, even the eccentricities of spelling and punctuation being scrupulously reproduced. The editor has contributed a brief biographical sketch of Cartier, three short notes concerning the various narratives, and a number of foot-notes chiefly in elucidation of the navigator's geographical nomenclature. These, so far as they go, are accurate and helpful to the reader. Cartier's narratives occupy somewhat less than one-fourth of the volume; the remaining pages are given over to the contemporary annals of explorations made by English seamen of the Elizabethan age.

An entire volume is devoted to the republication of Champlain's *Voyages,* under the editorship of Mr. W. L. Grant, Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford. It is indeed fit and proper that the sturdy seaman of Brouage should be accorded this recognition as a maker of early American history, for while the name of Samuel de Champlain is more particularly connected with his work as the real founder alike of Acadia and of New France, his services as an explorer were of the very highest value to the development of accurate geographical knowledge concerning the whole North Atlantic seaboard. To him New England in general, and Massachusetts and Maine in particular, owe a recognition which has not always been ungrudgingly accorded.

The translation reprinted in this volume is that made from Champlain's journals of 1613 and 1619 by Dr. Charles Pomeroy

Otis, and published under the general editorship of the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter by the Prince Society during the years 1880-1882. The compilation does not contain, therefore, the accounts written by Champlain of his voyages prior to 1604 or subsequent to 1618. The omission of the latter is somewhat naïvely explained by the general editor in the summary statement that the interest in Champlain's later life and works is "chiefly Canadian." One may very well ask, however, why the narrative of the events connected with the capture of Quebec by Kirke in 1629 should be regarded as of less interest to American readers than the special details of explorations made in 1613 along the Ottawa valley. The necessity of keeping the volume within moderate compass affords, however, ample warrant for including a part only of Champlain's voluminous writings, and an editor may more fairly excuse his omissions upon this ground than upon allegations of differences in the intrinsic interest of the various narratives. In view of the general policy of the series to present whole sources rather than extracts from the sources, it would not have been amiss to have emphasized a little more strongly the fact that a very large portion of Champlain's journals are not contained in this volume at all.

In arranging to republish the Prince Society translation of the journals of 1613 and 1619 rather than to secure a new translation the general editor of the series acted very wisely; for Dr. Otis's rendering of the original is in every way satisfactory, and in some respects even masterly. Students of history still require no better English edition than that provided more than a quarter-century ago by the Prince Society; but since these volumes have now become scarce and costly the present reprint will be very welcome in many quarters.

The value of the Prince Society edition was greatly enhanced by Mr. Slafter's scholarly and illuminating foot-notes. Many of these Mr. Grant has preserved intact; others he has judiciously condensed; some serviceable notes have been drawn from the Abbé Laverdière's edition of 1870; and some new ones have been added by the present editor. In this feature of his work Mr. Grant displays unquestionable discrimination and good judgment as well as a considerable familiarity with the literature

of early American exploration. Profitable use might have been made, however, of Professor Ganong's elaborate and careful studies concerning the early geography of the Acadian coasts.

In an Introduction the editor gives a short sketch of Champlain's life and services to the cause of French colonial expansion, with a condensed chronology of the various printed editions of the *Voyages*. Three maps and plans are selected for reproduction out of the considerable number contained in the original editions, yet one will scarcely question the editor's judgment in deciding not to include any more. The volume is provided with an excellent index.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Samuel Champlain, fondateur de Québec, et père de la Nouvelle-France. Histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages. Par N. E. Dionne. 2e volume. Québec, 1906. Pp. 559.

It is a rather curious fact that of Champlain, the founder of the colony of Canada, the first to explore a part of the coasts of New England, the explorer also of the Laurentian valley as far as the country of the Hurons, and an author who has left important memoirs regarding his journeys and his work, we should not have had, until a few years ago, what may be called a continuous biographical record. We cannot consider as adequate biography the numerous articles which have been published in reviews, or as introductory to new editions of his works. There is only one way of explaining this anomaly, which is that, apart from what Champlain has written himself, there have really been wanting documents to furnish a life worthy of the man. It has only been little by little that industrious research has been able to collect regarding this illustrious personage the information necessary for any definitive biography; and even the documents which we now possess do not entirely remove the obscurity which veils him. Before 1663 France had not, one may say, any regularly organized colonial archives; and often it is only by pure accident that official information regarding Champlain has been found. Add to this fact that the archives of the different private com-

panies with which Champlain had transactions have been lost. Regarding his family itself, there existed in Saintonge, his native country, very little information. Thanks to M. Louis Audiat, we were, in 1879, put in possession of some new information. His discoveries attracted the attention of investigators, and since that time the harvest, without being abundant, has nevertheless satisfied the legitimate desire to know the family life of Champlain.

It was Dr. Dionne, the librarian of the Legislature of Quebec, a writer who has long occupied himself with Cartier and the very obscure period which extends from 1540 to 1603, to whom fell the work of piously collecting all the information now possessed regarding the father of New France and of making of it a solid work. In 1891 he first published a preliminary volume of the history of the life and travels of Champlain. It is the second volume of this work, published last year—that is, after an interval of fifteen years—that we are now discussing.* This second volume contains 559 pages, the first had 438. It is consequently the most voluminous work yet published of those devoted entirely to Champlain's life and labours.

In a study of such magnitude, it was impossible, in relating the life of Champlain, not to treat of the entire history of the colony from 1603 to 1635. Both are so intermingled that they form in reality a compact whole. This volume begins in 1615 with the first mission to the Hurons, and ends in 1635 with the death of Champlain. It is divided into three books, in which the author treats in succession, and in an orderly and methodical way, of all the events which occurred during these twenty years, so full of events and often so dramatic. We see passing before our eyes, in their turn, the Hurons and the Iroquois, the Récollets and the Jesuits, and then the trading companies. We see also the negligence of France, and the toilsome efforts of Champlain to save the colony. Quebec grows under great difficulties. Hébert and Couillard have scarcely traced the first furrow and

* See this REVIEW, volume x, p. 30, for a short study of a work on Champlain published in English by the same author, in the collection of "The Makers of Canada"; but the edition in English was, so to speak, only a condensation of the larger work which Dr. Dionne had had in hand for some time.

Champlain has barely built a poor shelter at Quebec, when Kirke comes and destroys their legitimate hopes. Then we see the sorrowful capitulation, the return to France, the solicitations, the delays, and finally the restitution of 1632. The first churches —Notre Dame des Anges and Notre Dame de la Récouvrance— are built. An attempt at judiciary and political organization is worked out. At last, in 1634, arrives the emigration from Perche brought out by the efforts of Giffard—the first solid addition of Canadian colonists. Champlain dies in a sort of disgrace, on his barren rock, at a time when his work is only outlined. No matter, the seed is in the ground, and it is good seed.

Many other topics are discussed in the volume. One chapter tells us the story of the smugglers of the St. Lawrence; another, that of the fur trade; a third forms an estimate of the part played by the Récollet fathers. Champlain is studied in turn as an explorer, in his relations with the Indians, and as regards the impulse which he gave to agriculture. He was at once a geographer, diplomatist, economist, writer and soldier.

The author has conscientiously collected everything previously published, and has enriched his volume with copious notes. He has used much hitherto unpublished material preserved at Paris, at Brouage, and at Honfleur. The mystery of Champlain's grave has not been forgotten. We cannot say that the author has solved it, but, after what he has written, we are convinced that the Abbé Casgrain and others who believed it to have been discovered were quite mistaken. Our satisfaction would have been much greater had Dr. Dionne been able to discover this unknown grave. But, after all, what would the discovery add to the glory of the father of New France? The history which our author gives us of the numerous monuments erected to the glory of Champlain in France, Canada, and the United States proves that the memory of the great Frenchman will never die.

In noticing a work as laborious as that of Dr. Dionne, and produced at the cost of such long and patient research, it would be cavilling to take exception in regard to small details, which are, after all, of little historical importance. The author writes

in good faith and with conviction; he has the courage of his opinions, and he announces them frankly, while showing every consideration to those who differ from him. Readers who desire to know the other side have only to consult, among the Anglo-Americans, Parkman and many more; and among the French, less prejudiced, Gabriel Gravier of Rouen, who in 1900 also published a life of Champlain. We must do Dr. Dionne the justice to say that he gives a complete list of all the materials dealing with Champlain down to our time, which is evidence that he wishes the reader to know everything.

The work is written in good, simple French, without artifice or effort. We cannot regard it as a final life of Champlain. Some day a book may be written which will be final, for new documents may yet be discovered; but in any labour of the kind it will not be possible to overlook the assistance furnished by Dr. Dionne's book.

Mr. H. P. Biggar, in the course of his researches in Spanish archives, has found that a reputed Cabot source does not exist.* Most historians recite a letter of Gonzales de Puebla, one of the two Spanish ambassadors in England in 1498, describing John Cabot's departure on his second voyage in that year. The other Spanish ambassador, Pedro de Ayala, on July 25th, 1498, sent home an authentic letter describing the event. Mr. Biggar now shows that Puebla never wrote the letter imputed to him. "An examination of the originals at Simancas and London has revealed the fact that no such dispatch exists. The document in question turns out to be in reality nothing but a *résumé* made in Spain in the summer of 1498 of a paragraph of Ayala's letter of July 25, 1498." Mr. Biggar is unable to understand how, with the same opportunities that he has himself had, Harrisse and others could have attributed the paragraph to Puebla.

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* *A Cabot Source which does not exist.* By H. P. Biggar. Extrait de la Revue Hispanique, tome XV. New York, Paris, 1906. Pp. 8.

Mr Beckles Willson, in a series called "The Romance of Empire," writes an interesting book for the young on Canada.* The reproduction of coloured drawings by Mr. Sandham is an attractive feature of the book. In opening, Mr. Willson holds the reader's attention at once by describing King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn making their first progress down the Thames to Greenwich, April 20th, 1534, and then turns to show that on the same day Jacques Cartier set out for Canada. We thus have England and France linked in thought at the beginning of Canadian history, and they have remained so linked ever since. Mr. Willson is writing the romance of history, and naturally expands romantic incidents. We thus have many pages given to half mythical stories about Dollard, Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord, while the Confederation of Canada occupies a single paragraph; but this only illustrates Mr. Willson's tact in writing for young readers. He is not always quite accurate. We wonder who were Cartier's "attendant nobles"; Mr. Willson, indeed, scatters nobles with needless profusion in his pages. He has not heard of the doubts thrown upon Wolfe's reciting Gray's Elegy as his force was rowed down to the Anse de Foulon on the last morning of his life. Townshend is not "Townsend." It was not Thomas Jefferson, but Madison, who led the United States into the war of 1812, and the account of the causes of the war is prejudiced and inaccurate. Laura Secord is said to have travelled on roads "swollen with rain," something that happens to rivers rather than roads. We mention these things because Mr. Willson needs to pay more careful attention to details. His book is welcome as a successful attempt to record the more romantic episodes in Canadian history.

Les Compagnies à charte et la Politique coloniale sous le Ministère de Colbert. Par Capitaine Cordier. Paris: A. Rousseau, 1906. Pp. viii, 303.

The policy of endeavouring to acquire and to administer colonies through the agency of commercial companies was one which,

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* *Romance of Empire: Canada.* By Beckles Willson. With twelve reproductions from original coloured drawings by Henry Sandham. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1907. Pp. xi, 304.

in the seventeenth century, commended itself to almost all the colonizing powers of Europe. In an age when royal exchequers were not full to overflowing it was indeed difficult to spare from the privy purse the outlays necessary for the exploitation of newly found domains beyond the seas, hence the general readiness to let private enterprise bear the brunt of investment and risk, reserving always to the monarch the right to a share in the profits, if profit should be the outcome. In a word, the system of colonization by chartered companies gave reasonable prospect of results at the minimum of cost to the political authority. France therefore joined her neighbours in this method of exploitation, and even before the time of Colbert had definitely committed herself to this line of policy alike in the East and the West. It remained for this minister however, to give this method of colonization new vigour and added impetus.

Although Colbert was not placed officially in charge of French colonial interests until 1669, he exercised from the time of his accession to office in 1661 a preponderating voice in the council of commerce by whose members all important commercial and colonial questions were discussed. From the outset his main design was to offset the large commercial interests which both Holland and England were rapidly acquiring through their chartered companies, and to secure for France the *suprématie mondiale* which her European rivals were now beginning to regard as within their own grasp. To this end he sought to consolidate into two great and aggressive corporations the scattered commercial organizations which France possessed; one of these was to lay the foundations of a Bourbon empire in the East, the other to do the same in the West.

The commercial organization with which Canadians usually associate the name of Colbert is the Company of the West Indies, chartered in 1664 and placed in charge of French commercial interests in the New World. This company, organized under the minister's own personal supervision, and modelled after the flourishing Dutch commercial companies of the time, entered upon the exercise of its almost sovereign powers with large financial resources and with all the prestige which unstinted royal and ministerial support could afford. Nevertheless it managed,

in the course of a single decade, to demonstrate very conclusively its incapacity, not alone as an effective agent in colonial development, but as an exploiter of commercial resources. The colony of New France was withdrawn from the control of the Company in 1674 simply because this control was advantageous to neither the company, nor the colony, nor the king.

The work of the Company of the West Indies in Canada, and the causes of its failure receive consideration in what is, perhaps, the most interesting chapter of M. Cordier's book, but little is added to what students of Canadian history already know concerning the doings both at Paris and Quebec during the period 1664-1674. The author has followed the now well beaten path, dropping naturally into each pitfall on the way. He has utilized no sources of information which have not already been fully explored by Pigeonneau, Pauliat, Bonnassieux, Sargent, and others who have given attention to the economic policy of the Colbert era. Clément's ponderous *Mémoires de Colbert* has been, of course, the main reliance of the author; but for information on all matters relating particularly to Canada he has drawn heavily, and not always with discrimination, from Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*. M. Cordier's almost helpless dependence upon this last source of information is clearly evident in his discussion of the disbandment and settlement of the Régiment de Carignan-Salières in New France (pp. 204-208). Inadequate breadth of study is also responsible for the assertion that the larger part of the female immigration to New France during this period was drawn from the prisons and poorhouses (p. 209), and for several other statements of similar type. In his account of the services of Talon to the cause of colonial settlement the writer displays pronounced weakness. He might have learned much from M. Thomas Chapais's biography of the great intendant; but this study he has apparently not encountered.

In general, the volume presents an interesting outline of the subject with which it purports to deal; the narrative is not overburdened with details; the style is pleasing; and the book is, on the whole, reasonably accurate. But neither in matter nor in method of presentation does M. Cordier's volume embody any advance upon what students of colonial history have already had

for many years at their disposal. A bibliography is appended; but it is too scant to be of any important service.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Father Hughes' *History of the Society of Jesus in North America** contains almost nothing relating to Canada. The author, an American, concentrates his attention chiefly on Maryland. We mention the volume because the first seventy pages contain an account of the bibliographical material relating to the Jesuits in Canada and elsewhere. From the author's account the Jesuit archives seem to have been very carelessly preserved. At the dissolution of the Order in 1773 its records were scattered, and the restored Order has collected only portions of what was thus lost.

The Life of *La Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint-Augustin*† is written for edification. This nun, at the age of sixteen, came in 1649 from France to the Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec, and remained there until her death at the age of thirty-six. She had always a precocious piety, showing a burning faith before she was four years old. The well known Jesuit father, Ragueneau, wrote her life, based largely upon her own record of her visions. The present volume is an extraordinary study in religious emotionalism. The Mère Catherine lived in an atmosphere always charged with the supernatural, and her soul was the scene of endless assaults by the devil. At one time she is assailed by thoughts and desires of the most carnal character; her whole being seems invested by the demon of impurity; she is unable to get rid of obscene images which haunt her imagination. At another time the temptation takes the form of the impulse to return to France. She sees visions and has knowledge of events before they happen. She is given supernatural insight into the hearts of individuals, reading, for instance, the soul of M. de

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* *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal.* By Thomas Hughes. Documents Volume I, 1605-1838, Part 1. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Pp. xiv, 653.

† *Une Fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France. Vie de la Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1632-1668.* Par le P. L. Hudon, S.J. Montreal: Le Messager Canadien, 1907. Pp. xxiii, 262.

Mésy, the Governor, when he was opposing her spiritual director, Laval, and seeing how nearly Satan has secured him, though in the end he is saved. When a great earthquake occurred in 1663 she had a divine notification that it was imminent and knew that it was sent to awaken Canada from its spiritual lethargy. Laval was fighting the brandy interest at the time. Her later spiritual guide was the Jesuit, Brébeuf, who was martyred in 1649. He is as real a person as if he were alive, appears to her constantly and gives precise directions as to what she shall do. M. Hudon says that he has examined the testimony for these wonders with the most scientific methods that the present day affords and that their truth is certain. The historian Garneau laughed at them as the production of morbid imaginings, but the present Archbishop of Quebec writes a prefatory letter to the book in which he says that it is likely to inspire Canadian girls to live noble lives and that its teaching cannot fail to be for the good of souls. It is not unlikely that a movement for the beatification of Mère Catherine will soon be set on foot. Until now her visions have been known to only a narrow circle. Professor William James should find some interesting matter in the book for his study of religious emotion.

Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage, 1684-7. With a Frontispiece of Gudebrod's Statue of La Salle and the Map of the original French edition, Paris, 1713, in facsimile. New edition, with historical and biographical introduction, annotations and index, by Henry Read Stiles. To which is added a Bibliography of the discovery of the Mississippi, by Appleton P. C. Griffin. Albany, N.Y.: Joseph McDonough, 1906. Pp. 258.

La Salle is so much a part of the history of Canada that everything relating to him should be of interest to our readers. Dr. Stiles' reprint is therefore welcome, and all the more so by reason of the attractive form in which it is presented. Paper, type, margin and cover are alike satisfying. The publication is dedicated "to the memory of John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., the indefatigable historian of the missions, literature and history of the

Roman Catholic Church in North America, and a man of modest, pious and blameless life," as "the final volume of a series projected by himself over forty years ago on the 'Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley.'" Inasmuch, however, as the volumes published by Shea appeared in 1852 and 1861, respectively, it would appear that the series must have been projected considerably more than forty years ago.

The present volume is a reprint, limited to 500 copies, from the first English translation, of 1714, of the original French edition of 1713. The textual annotations, by Professor Melville B. Anderson, to the facsimile reprint of the English text, issued in 1896, by the Caxton Club, of Chicago, have been incorporated in the new edition. The publisher's note states that these are indicated by Professor Anderson's initials; but a careful examination has failed to discover them, except in one instance.

The historical introduction is clear and reasonably concise. It is marred, however, by a number of inaccuracies, to which the reader's attention should be called. Among them may be mentioned the following. La Salle sailed for Canada in 1667, not 1666 as stated. The editor's assertion that the expedition of 1669 consisted, in addition to Seneca guides, of twenty-two men, does not agree with Galinée's figures—seven canoes with three men in each. The meeting of La Salle and the Sulpitians with Jolliet did not take place at Irondequoit, as stated, but far to the westward at Tinawatawa, between Burlington Bay and the Grand River, near the present village of Westover. The change of plans which was effected by the unexpected meeting resulted in the breaking up of the party, La Salle going one way and the priests another. The latter, however, did not start northward towards Montreal (*sic*), but continued southward to Lake Erie, where they wintered at what is now Port Dover. And when they renewed their adventurous voyage in the early spring it was not for the purpose of going to Montreal, but of establishing their mission among the Pottawatamies. It was the loss of their altar service by the storm at Point Pelée that decided them to return to Montreal by way of Michilimackinac, Sault Ste. Marie and the French river. The editor's mistake has led him to belittle the importance of the work accomplished by the Sul-

pitians. "When they got back to Montreal," he says, "they had nothing to show in the way of discovery." But surely it was something to have determined the outline of that part of the province of Ontario which lies south of Sault Sainte Marie and the French river portage route, and to have mapped out the chain of lakes for the first time by actual exploration. The documents in Margry's first volume show that Talon did not underestimate the importance of Galinée's report and map. That they had great and important results in stimulating further discovery and exploration is certain. A curious and inexplicable error occurs on page 11, with reference to Hennepin. In the text he is described as a Récollet friar, which was the fact, while in a foot-note he is incorrectly called a Jesuit priest. The statement that the *Griffon* was built two leagues above the mouth of the Niagara river is inaccurate. As is well known, it was built and launched some distance above the falls. A note on page 203, referring to Henri de Tonty, states: "His after career or the time of his death are (*sic*) unknown." But Gravier and Sulte agree that he died in 1704 at Fort Saint-Louis de la Mobile. In addition to the grammatical solecism just noted may be mentioned the following in the Table of Contents: "Remainder of Letter by *he* who revis'd this Journal." And yet the text itself (page 203) uses the correct form, "him who revis'd," etc. The word "plagiary" occurs more than once, where "plagiarism" is intended.

These are among the most noticeable errors for which the editor must be held accountable. Another class is attributable, perhaps, to careless proof-reading. A few examples will suffice. La Salle is represented as having first seen the Mississippi in 1781 (page 20). Nicolet's discovery of Green Bay was not in 1639 (page 22), but in 1634, as stated in page 221. 1662 on page 24 should be 1682. "Fortuitous" (page 25) should be "fortunate." French words are often misprinted. For example: "delatroupe" (page 30) for "de la troupe," "Cavalier" for "Cavelier," La Salle's family name (page 29, etc.), "meage" (page 65) for "nuage," "s'embargua" (page 74) for "s'embarqua," "porchain" (page 84) for "prochain," "qui" (page 88) for "que," "Sulté" (*passim*) for "Sulte,"

"recital" (page 225) for "récit," "Historie" (page 234) for "Histoire."

The Bibliography is reprinted apparently as it appeared originally in 1883 in the *Magazine of American History*. But since that time an abundance of new light has been thrown on the subject, by such publications as the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Margry's fifth and sixth volumes of "Découvertes et Établissements," the works of Sulte, Gravier, Lorin, Chapais and others, not to mention the stimulus given to research and publication by the celebration, in 1903-1904, of the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase. The omission to bring the bibliography down to date is a very serious defect in an otherwise valuable book.

A minor inaccuracy in the Bibliography may be noted. "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas," by O. H. Marshall—called O. M. Marshall in the text (page 225)—does not contain "a textual translation" of Galinée's narrative, but only of a comparatively small portion. A more complete and accurate text than that of Margry or of Verreau, and the only translation of the whole narrative, are those furnished by the present reviewer in Volume IV of the Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records.

The story of La Salle's last expedition and of his tragic death has been well told by Joutel. The genuine text was printed for the first time in Margry's third volume, in 1881. The earlier versions in French and English were greatly altered from the original, as Joutel himself complained. Until we can have the true text in an English dress we must perforce content ourselves with the mutilated version of 1714. In the meantime, and notwithstanding the errors to some of which attention has been called, we have to thank the publisher and editor for this handsome edition of the early English text.

JAMES H. COYNE

Mr. Edwin M. Bacon's history of the Connecticut Valley* has a certain interest for Canadian history since the valley was

* *The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut.* By Edwin M. Bacon. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. xx, 487.

the scene of frontier wars between the New Englanders and the Canadians for well-nigh a century. Mr. Bacon has four or five chapters dealing with this grim strife; the first episode is the sack of Deerfield by Indians and Canadians in 1677, the last the destruction of the St. Francis Indians near the St. Lawrence by Rogers in 1759 and his subsequent flight to Fort "Number Four" on the Connecticut River. The volume shows no special literary graces, or original research, but it is readable and the illustrations are admirable.

Sebastian Ralé, A Maine tragedy of the eighteenth century. By John Francis Sprague. Boston, Mass., 1906. Pp. 161.

The life, the career, and the tragic end of the Jesuit, Sebastian Ralé,* who founded the mission of Narantsouak (at present Norridgewock, in the State of Maine), and, during the thirty years from 1694 to 1724, was the adviser and the undisputed leader of the Abenakis—that tribe of warlike Indians which France used as a barrier between the colony of Canada and the settlements of New England—will always be interesting to historians. That Ralé was employed by his Government to keep the Indians loyal to France, and to prevent them from giving up to the English the territory which they occupied, while it was a subject of dispute between the two nations,—all this cannot longer be questioned.

Ralé played, among the Abenakis, the rôle which the missionary Le Loutre was to play later among the Acadians, when the latter were living under the flag of neutrality, and served as a buffer-state between the colonies of Cape Breton and Massachusetts. Living in a frontier country, in a territory much coveted by the colonists of New England, and in the midst of a warlike nation, quick to repel the least encroachment upon their hunting-grounds, Ralé must necessarily have been held responsible for all the good or evil deeds of the Indians over whom he was supposed to have control. Imagine an English preacher

* The author uses the form "Ralé." The French have "Rasle." But it is written in all four ways: "Ralé," "Rasle," "Rasles," "Rale."

living in the midst of the Iroquois Five-Nations in the days of their incessant attacks upon the French colony in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and exercising over them the ascendancy which Ralé had over the Abenakis—is it not almost certain that the French authorities would have held him accountable for the misdeeds of these barbarians? Now we must remember that the Abenakis were to the English what the Iroquois were to the French. During the whole of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, they never ceased to ravage the frontier settlements of New England. One can no more excuse the raids of the Abenakis on the English settlements than one can approve of those of the Iroquois upon the peaceful villages of New France. It is quite another matter to determine whether Ralé deliberately cultivated among his neophytes the hatred of a nation whose language and religion differed from his own. His career has been thoroughly studied by two schools of different habits of mind. The majority of the writers of New England hold Ralé responsible for the horrors and the sufferings which their ancestors had to endure from the Indians. On the other side, he has ardent defenders among the French, who proclaim him a martyr to his integrity, the victim of an ambuscade, and term his death a barbarous assassination.

Ralé has left several letters written from his Narantsouak mission on the subject of the strife between the English and the Indians in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht; and Father de La Chasse wrote the French and Catholic version of the circumstances which preceded and accompanied his death ("Lettres édifiantes," Vol. xvii, published at Paris in 1726). It was these documents which were utilized by Charlevoix and Rochemonteix, as well as by Shea in his book, "The Church in Colonial Days" (pp. 596-603), and in the *Catholic Intelligencer* (Vol. viii, No. 6—1831). About 1848, Convers Francis wrote a very complete account of Ralé, which appeared in Jared Sparks's "Library of American Biography" (Series 2, Vol. vii). The writer of this temperate narration endeavours to be impartial, and although evidently he leans towards the English side, he pays the highest tribute to Ralé. In 1894, James Phinney Baxter, after having reviewed everything that had been

written on the subject, collected in the Colonial Archives of Boston new documents. In his book, "The Pioneers of New France in New England," he commented upon these, and, one might say, exhausted the subject. Baxter is convinced of the culpability of Ralé. Dr. N. E. Dionne, in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada" (Series ii, Vol. ix, Section i, pp. 117-134), resumes the debate from the French point of view, and tries to refute Baxter. The numerous local histories of the State of Maine in which the same subject is treated of incidentally need not be mentioned in detail.

In the present book Mr. Sprague does not claim to have discovered any new light on this vexed question. He contents himself with summing up the facts, and co-ordinating them, in order to make a readable book for those who are bored by numerous references to authorities; and he has not attempted independent search among manuscript sources. We may add that he considers the death of Ralé a real assassination (page 48).

It is an established fact that the General Court of Massachusetts officially authorized the different expeditions which were organized in 1700, 1705 and 1720, to drive Ralé out of Narantsouak, and to destroy the settlements of the Abenakis. It even voted £100 to whoever should bring Ralé a prisoner to Boston. The expedition of 1724, which was to end so tragically, was also officially organized: Ralé must be put out of the way. This decision is written in black and white in the archives, and there it stands. Was it intended that Ralé should be killed, or only taken prisoner? Either of these events would have been satisfactory, and there is no doubt that the first was more expeditious than the second, and much less troublesome. There was no express resolution to this effect; for the authorities who desire the end do not always prescribe the means.

The documents preserved prove also that the Abenakis repeatedly attacked the villages and the isolated farms of the colonists, and the expeditions despatched against them were the natural consequence of these invasions. Ralé, being among the Indians, was included in the common hatred which they provoked. But is it reasonable to hold him responsible for the scenes of desolation and slaughter which were so terrible in

the peaceful valleys of the Kennebec? Is it not probable that he advised his comrades that industry is a surer source of well-being and riches than war, theft, or pillage? But it is not easy to implant this great truth as a controlling power in the savage breasts of a people so quick and so terrible in their resentment. The Indians, who had been eye-witnesses of the dispute between the missionary and the preachers from Boston, and had been put on their guard by him against the propaganda and the intrigues of these men, could not fail to confound the heretic with the colonist, the hereditary enemy of their race.

On three different occasions—in 1700, 1705, and 1720—Ralé, by taking refuge in the woods, had escaped the pursuits of the flying column sent against Narantsouak. In 1724 the surprise was so sudden that he fell a victim to the weapons of the enemy, in endeavouring to save the women and children. The obscure lieutenant of the militia, who killed him, asserted in his own justification that he found him carrying arms. But who can believe that this man of sixty-seven years, broken down by thirty years of missionary work, and forbidden by his religion to fight, ever thought of firing a shot, or of defending himself? No; Ralé fell in a frontier ambuscade, in which the smoke of the powder, the odour of blood, the cries of the dead and dying maddened the combatants, and when rage and the anxiety for self-defence rendered them ruthless in their slaughter. It was a war of partisans with all its horror and its mad risks. That the combatants in their thirst for blood trampled upon the body of Ralé; that the Boston authorities rewarded the soldier who brought back his bloody scalp; that the colonists of New England rejoiced at his death—all this can be explained by the customs and ways of the time. Ralé was the victim of circumstance, the victim especially of that policy of deception of which two rival nations too often set the example in the American forests.

It is, however, worthy of remark that, whatever may be the conclusions arrived at by the different writers in discussing this disputed episode, all pay homage to the greatness of soul, the spirit of sacrifice, and the beautiful character of Ralé. And when, in 1833, Bishop Fenwick raised a monument to Ralé on

the spot where he was killed, both Catholics and Protestants united in glorifying this great man. Such sights are consoling. They show that there is no eternal hatred between conquerors and conquered, that virtue and valiance, in whatever language they express themselves, are a common treasure belonging to humanity, and that posterity is always thrilled by the story of a hero, regardless of the race to which he may belong.

William Pitt, Graf von Chatham. Von Albert von Ruville. Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1905. Three vols. Pp. xii, 447; viii, 480; viii, 456.

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. By Albert von Ruville. Translated by H. J. Chaytor, assisted by Mary Morrison. With an introduction by Professor Hugh E. Egerton. Three volumes. London: William Heinemann, 1907. Pp. xxviii, 391; vi, 416; vi, 427.

England in the Seven Years' War: a Study in Combined Strategy. By Julian S. Corbett. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907. Two vols. Pp. vii, 476; 407.

Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S., "The Circumnavigator." By Arthur Kitson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1907. Pp. xvi, 517.

English Colonies in America. Volume V.: The Colonies under the House of Hanover. By J. A. Doyle. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1907. Pp. xvi, 497.

The Last Siege of Louisbourg. By C. Ochiltree Macdonald. London: Cassell and Co., 1907. Pp. xvi, 175.

Herr von Ruville's book is well worth the close attention of any one who already knows enough of the history of the times to appreciate when the author's solid facts end and his rather wild hypotheses begin. The author is singularly free from the Anglophobia which seems to infect most modern Germans when they talk *Weltpolitik*. He has many a good word to say of George III and several English politicians whom it has long been the fashion to abuse. He is industrious in the collection of his facts, sorts them with care, and fills in the framework of

his three volumes with a fine sense of proportion. The old Thackeray biography of Pitt, chiefly known from Macaulay's slighting references, was a mere jumble of materials. This work, on the contrary, is the first to give a whole third of its contents to the great administration which only occupied a fifteenth part of Pitt's life, but was the vital crisis of his career, and is well called *die Zeit der Macht.*

What perpetually troubles Herr von Ruville, and vexes the reader, is that every time he tells us about some of Pitt's great deeds, he feels bound to stop and pessimistically explain away their greatness by imputations of the meanest motives. Whether he believes in the hereditary transmission of acquired characteristics or not we cannot say. But the *milieu* of Taine is not more nearly omnipresent than the *damnosa hereditas* which Herr von Ruville imputes to Pitt from his ogre of a grandfather, the famous (or, *ruvillice,* infamous) Governor Pitt. Probably Pitt did inherit some not very admirable qualities from this grandfather, who certainly had his share of the lust of power and riches, and we all know that the great commoner grasped all the power he could. We wonder how the author comes to omit the scene when Pitt, on making his first appearance in the Upper House, was soundly rated by the Duke of Richmond for trying to browbeat the peers. But the bubble hypotheses scattered about this book are best pricked by contact with the hard and pointed facts with which it also abounds. Let any one disentangle the facts from the fancies in the second volume, and then compare the two, and he will see at once that Pitt the patriot is as firmly established as ever, while Pitt the monster is evolved, like the proverbial camel, from the professorial idea of what a grandfather's grandson ought to have been, according to the author's views of acquired and original sin.

For authorities the book depends largely on original documents. Parkman and Kingsford are certainly quoted sometimes where research has put them out of date. But Dr. Doughty's collections on the siege of Quebec are laid under contribution, and so are the Prussian ministerial reports in the Berlin archives. At the end of the third volume there is an appendix, consisting in a note on the bibliography of the subject and some extracts

from private correspondence, etc. Francis Thackeray is relegated to the lumber room. Macaulay's essays are praised in a sentence that would make the object of them gasp at the ponderosity—there is no other word—of the compliment: . . . . zwei Essays . . . . die ein weit wahrheitsgetreueres, verständnisvolles und fein ausgeführtes . . . ." The Public Record Office, Foreign Office Records, Colonial Office Records, Admiralty Records, Confidential Miscellaneous, Chatham MSS., Pringle Collection, Newcastle Papers all come in among the manuscripts. Among printed books we notice that there is no mention of M. Richard Waddington's *La Guerre de Sept Ans,* nor of the work undertaken by the Historical Section of the Great General Staff of the German Army (*Der Siebenjährige Krieg.* Herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn). M. Waddington is particularly strong on the diplomatic side, and the military co-operation of Frederick the Great cannot be fully understood without the excellent staff history. Professor von Ruville is not fully posted on the subject of sea-power; though we should have supposed him to have known his Mahan well and to be an active member of the German Navy League. A few small slips of expression, too, might have been avoided if he had conned his nautical phraseology with Captain Paasch.

It is hard to see why the author has such a leaning towards Bute. He is certainly worthy of all commendation for doing justice to Bute—or to any one else who is a butt for every hit-or-miss reviewer. Bute was no match for Prince Galitzin in the tortuous dispatches about Silesia and East Prussia which convinced Frederick that England was betraying him. He fell into the Russian trap. But what is to be said in his defence when he wrote to Choiseul and used cabinet secrets against his own country after the battle of Wilhelmsthal? Does the author really think that mediocrities like Bute and North must necessarily be better men than a soaring genius like Pitt? It would almost appear so. In any case, there is an evident bias in favour of attributing good motives to the bad actions of little men, and bad motives to the good actions of great men.

It is a pleasanter task to turn again to the strong points of the work. Pitt's share in the conquest of India has never been

better shown. Here, and, indeed, throughout the three volumes, the presentation of facts is admirable. And the care with which the date of the arrival of news in England from distant scenes of action is noted is beyond all praise. The American chapters all have conspicuous merits of the same kind. Taken for all in all, the book might well become a classic, if its self-contradicting depreciation of its subject were omitted, and the facts—good bad and indifferent—were left to speak for themselves.

Canadian readers will naturally turn to the third *Abschnitt* in Vol. ii, *die Glanzzeit*, and, more particularly, to Chapter x, on Minden and Quebec. This is well done, on the whole; but some comparatively minor errors must be noted in the Canadian part. The *Proviant* was not so complete as it is said to have been on page 292. Vaudreuil's name is misspelt three times on pages 296-7. The German use of *Adjutant* does not describe Barré's position on Wolfe's staff. Rear-Admiral Durell is persistently called Captain. The reference to his filling up his ships' companies with "Americans" makes us doubt whether the author appreciates the difference between a *Blue Nose* and a *Bostonnais*. At page 300 there is a repetition of the usual overestimate of the services of the French pilots. Isle *des* Coudres is one of several little slips in place-names. The navigation of the Lower St. Lawrence is not touched with the knowing hand at page 303 and elsewhere. And the little plan of Quebec is surprisingly marked by faults one would not expect to find in a work by such a conscientious investigator. Important positions, like the Ste. Foy road, the Plains of Abraham, Sillery and L'Ange Gardien are more or less misplaced. Wolfe is unduly blamed for laying waste the country, as supposedly "against the laws of nations." He destroyed whatever was used to destroy him—houses from which the inhabitants fired at his men, etc. And he cut off supplies from Quebec by making its surrounding country a barren waste. But this was in the thick of hostilities; it never excited the serious animadversions of the French military chiefs, and it was by no means contrary to the then understood law of nations. We wonder if Herr Ruville had Boer concentration camps in his mind when he wrote on page 305 about Wolfe's making prisoners of non-combatants.

And we must protest against the implication that Montcalm unduly hurried into action on September 13, 1759 (p. 311). He did very well, considering all the untoward circumstances and the absence of a proper Intelligence Department.

But we should like to part with this really sound work on better terms; for it is a genuine *Urquellengeschichte* and *bien documentée.* "Kopflosigkeit" is a good word to describe Vaudreuil's panic at the hornwork after the battle. The question of Wolfe's initiative in planning and carrying out the landing at the Foulon is well handled, in accordance with the recently completed evidence on the subject. And even Pitt himself gets a meed of judicious praise, here and there, to allay the irritation caused by the general belittlement of so great a statesman. Nothing is said of his remarkable prophecy about Burgoyne's surrender, which was almost as prescient as his son's prophecy about Napoleon's troubles in the Peninsular war. But Herr von Ruville applauds Frederick the Great's opinion on page 315. And he praises Pitt's foresight in no uncertain way, entirely on his own account, on page 294. So, after all, even Pitt's staunchest admirers can find some comfort in a work which deserves a place in every library in Canada.

Mr. Corbett introduces his history with these words:

> "In the following pages an attempt has been made to present Pitt's War as it was seen and felt by the men who were concerned in its direction. In every Chancellery in Europe, as well as in our own Cabinet, this part of the widespread Seven Years' War was always spoken of as the 'Maritime War,' and it would seem that no useful apprehension of the way in which it was conducted can be obtained, unless it be approached from the naval side rather than from the military, as is more commonly done."

This opening paragraph of the author's preface accurately describes the aim and execution of his excellent work. Canadians are too apt to consider the wars that made their history as divided into independent departments, one of which alone concerned their own destinies. Nothing could be further from the practical truth. And they will never grasp the full meaning of their international position until they acquire the habit of looking at the great determinants of empire-building from the real centre of action. They can get no better guide than Mr. Corbett, who bases his book on well authenticated documents, and puts

its special theme in proper relation to the whole history of the time. The first chapter gives an illuminating account of the interdependence of fleets and armies with diplomacy and statesmanship. The preliminaries of all great wars are particularly worthy of study, and none more so than the months of offensive-defensive feints, blows and reprisals which were the prelude to the general open outbreak in 1756. Mr. Corbett explains very clearly why Newcastle struck at the French everywhere else in America except at Louisbourg, Quebec and Montreal.

An interesting incident, both for the past and future, is described at page 32. On the 19th January, 1755, so soon as it became known that France was sending reinforcements to America, Newcastle called a meeting of the "Inner" or "Secret" Committee of the Council. This body, nominally within the Privy Council, was the result of an effort to get the best advice at moments of crisis in a free country governed on party lines. Its ancestor was the Elizabethan "Council of War"; its immediate parentage came from that great master of diplomacy, strategy and smashing tactics—Marlborough; and it has its superior counterpart to-day in the "Elder Statesmen" of Japan. It resembled the present "Council of Defence," though it had no permanent staff, was outside the Cabinet, and was ignored by the constitution. But it did good work, and, as an attempt to meet external danger by the collective war-wisdom of the whole country, irrespective of internal parties, its wise saw might well be a modern instance. There are some unpleasant details noted against the British straightforwardness of which we talk so much and in which foreigners believe so little. And certainly no ambassador, "lying abroad for the good of his country," could have lied, in the unambiguous sense of the word, more thoroughly than Granville and Robinson did to Mirepoix. Granville was a very able man, and, like Hardwicke, and unlike most English-speaking politicians, he had a firm grasp of the great guiding principles of war. "Vexing your neighbours for a little muck," is his pithy condemnation of the false method of commerce-destroying. The two great service experts were Anson and Ligonier, who, with Pitt, formed the mighty triumvirate that organized British victory in the name of a king who was himself no mean judge of the conduct of a war.

The last two chapters in the first volume give a very good short account of the Quebec campaign of 1759. Here, again, valuable details are given about the naval and military preparations, details which M.P.'s and journalists could study with advantage for modern application. Due credit is given to Amherst for his loyalty in furthering Wolfe's force and playing second fiddle himself. He was the Roon, Wolfe the Moltke; or the St. Vincent detaching Nelson to the Nile. Mr. Corbett frequently quotes the original authorities printed by Dr. Doughty, and shows a most commendable indifference to second-hand information. His slips are few and comparatively unimportant. It is curious that two such careful writers as he and Herr von Ruville should not be able to mark their plans of Quebec correctly. Wolfe's attack on Montmorency is misdated, l'Anse au Foulon misspelt, "the Point of Levy" given its latter-day name, the Heights of Abraham extended too far and the Plains left out, etc. At page 102 Montcalm is called "the new Governor of Canada"! And, to descend to minor points, Mr. Corbett might take the trouble either to put in the nobiliary *de* correctly or leave it out altogether. But the book, as a whole, is the best of its own kind in our language, and Canadians who study it will be well repaid.

Mr. Kitson's *Captain Cook* is one of the really good books that have appeared this past year, and it deserves a warm welcome in this REVIEW. The nature of his subject has less connection with Canada than the others; and the extra-Canadian part is so foreign to our present purpose that we must regretfully leave it aside altogether. The part relating to Canada is contained in Chapters iii, iv and v, pages 29 to 81, and covers the ten years between 1757 and 1767, when Cook was mostly in the St. Lawrence or off Newfoundland. He served in the *Pembroke* as Master at Louisbourg and Quebec, and was in the *Northumberland* when he made his great St. Lawrence survey of 1760. Off Louisbourg the blockade service was very trying, and the vessels had to ride out some terrible gales. Then followed Hardy's and Wolfe's expedition to harry the French stations along the coast. The succeeding winter was a bad one for

shipping. Admiral Durell, writing to the Secretary to the Admiralty, says: "This winter of 1759 has proved the severest that has been known since the settling of this place. For these two months past I have not heard from Louisbourg. Many vessels have attempted to go there, but have met with ice eighteen and twenty leagues from land; so were obliged to return, after having had some of their people froze to death, and others frost-bitten to that degree as to lose legs and arms." The Master, who was the navigating officer, must have had a rough time of it. On the 25th of May the *Pembroke* arrived, with the vanguard of Saunders's fleet off Isle aux Coudres; and Cook's hydrographic acquaintance with the River St. Lawrence began. The captured French charts were corrected by new soundings; but, of course, a new chart was out of the question for that campaign. A very fair French chart, drawn by T. Kitchen, appeared in the *London Magazine* for September, 1759, showing the North Traverse on a larger scale. Probably this was from one of those used on the way up from Louisbourg. Mr. Kitson, by the way, is a little out in his distances: "Bic Island is about eighty leagues up the river, and about thirty-five below Quebec." Wherever he makes the river begin, he cannot move Bic within 105 miles of Quebec. And he is hardly right in referring to the "inferior quality" of Wolfe's troops; they were as good as any in the Army then, though their equipment was quite as bad as Mr. Kitson says it was. The *Pembroke's* boats helped to tow the fireships ashore, when the French sent them down to burn the British out of the South Channel of Orleans. And Cook was very much "the handy man" throughout the siege. His ship took part in the attack on Montmorency on the 31st of July; and, on a subsequent occasion, he had a very narrow escape from a flotilla of Indian war canoes. His boat pulled in to the Island, and as he jumped ashore over the bow an Indian with a tomahawk jumped into the stern. There is, unfortunately, nothing to connect him with hearing Wolfe recite Gray's Elegy or with the leading of the troops down to the Foulon.

On the 23rd of September Cook was transferred, by order of Admiral Saunders, to the *Northumberland,* which became the flagship of her own promoted captain, Lord Colville, when he

wintered at Halifax as naval Commander-in-Chief. Next May the British fleet returned to Quebec, just after the second battle of the Plains, when Lévis beat Murray; and a great part of it went up to Montreal to force the final capitulation of New France. Cook was meanwhile employed on that important survey; and on the 19th of January, 1761, Lord Colville "directed the Storekeeper to pay the Master of the *Northumberland* fifty pounds, in consideration of his indefatigable industry in making himself master of the pilotage of the River St. Lawrence." The results of Cook's survey, with further details from other hands, were embodied in the magnificent chart appearing in the "Atlantic Neptune," which, in a space of 100 by 30 inches, shows to perfection the navigational problem that confronted Saunders, when he led up those narrow waters the largest fleet then afloat in any quarter of the world.

We regret that Mr. Kitson's capital book leaves Canadian waters at chapter vi, and we commend it most heartily to all our readers.

Mr. Doyle is a painstaking, conscientious, and trustworthy writer on the whole long history of the *English Colonies in America.* But even his present volume—*The Colonies under the House of Hanover*—which is the fifth of his great work, only touches Canada in its last chapter. "The conquest of Canada was from one point of view by far the most important event in the collective history of the American colonies." But Mr. Doyle is concerned with the evolution of the colonies themselves, and his subject leads him to be more interested in the way the conquest affected administrative relations between England and her colonies than in the war itself. His book is an integral part of too great a whole to be called a side-light on Canadian history. But it is an illumination of a different, though correlated, theme. As such it is well done, and it should be kept for reference on all cognate matters.

Mr. Macdonald would have written a better book if he could only have made up his mind what sort of a book he wished to write. He has prose and verse, not very happily blended; and his frequent appeals to the *literati* of Canada would seem to

show that he would like to have written like a Canadian *littérateur*. We hope Mr. Macdonald will write again, and about Louisbourg; but we hope he will write like himself, and not in imitation of what he imagines is the style befitting Canadian *literati*. He is too genuinely enthusiastic, too closely in touch with the heart of his subject, and too naturally direct (when he gives himself the chance of being so) to allow himself to sink into a *dilettante*. What Canadian history-writing requires is the spirit of the investigator who cares less for derivative books than for original documents, and who can write good, simple, and, where the subject warrants it, eloquent English. Mr. Macdonald is at the cross-roads, with a book which is hardly history and certainly not literature; but which, one cannot help feeling, might well be both. "The book is a result of an examination of the histories of Nova Scotia, etc., now before the public; but to the material drawn from those invaluable records of our past is added some interesting matter gleaned by personal research among the records of the eighteenth century in England and the United States. The author, therefore, has some justification for presenting this brief memoir on Louisbourg, but he appeals to the *literati* of Canada to do the subject fuller justice." Let him drop the books, take up the documents, and make his own style; and we are sure neither he nor his readers will ever regret the change from a would-be *littérateur* to a genuine historian.

WILLIAM WOOD

Mr. Beer's book on *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*,* has only a slight reference to Canada. It relates almost wholly to the military and trade questions involved in the relations between Great Britain and the English colonies in America during the period named. So far as military co-operation goes, Mr. Beer shows that Pitt's requisition system, by which each colony was to furnish its fair quota of troops for the invasion of Canada, was a failure. The northern colonies, with danger imminent, did well enough, but the southern colonies did little. One thing these continental armies effected that was ominous for Great

* *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765.* By George Louis Beer. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907. Pp. x, 327.

Britain; in them came together from the widely separated colonies soldiers who thus learned to take common action—a lesson which showed its fruits on the battlefields of the Revolution. Mr. Beer discusses the failure of Franklin's plan of Union in 1754. His other topics—"Colonial Trade with the Enemy, 1756-1763," "The Peace of Paris and the Empire," and "Indian Policy and Colonial Defence, 1763-65"—have a direct if slight bearing on Canada. The book represents sound research, communicated in a style lacking in animation.

Un défenseur de la Nouvelle-France, François Picquet "le Canadien" (1708-1781). Par André Chagny. (L'Université Catholique, Janvier, Février, Avril, Juillet, 1907.)

The Sulpitian, François Picquet, who in 1749 laid the foundations of the Fort de la Présentation (now Ogdensburg, N.Y.) —in the same year that Lieut. de Contrecœur was building Fort Rouillé where Toronto now stands—has scarcely lacked biographers. To begin with, hardly three years after his death, in 1783, the celebrated astronomer Lalande, his fellow-countryman, dictated to an amanuensis a history of the old missionary, which appeared in the "Lettres édifiantes" (Vol. xxvi). In 1870 Joseph Tassé published a second biography in the *Revue Canadienne* (Vol. vii). In 1894 the Abbé Gosselin was the biographer, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (Vol. xii, second series). In the present case the work has again been done by a fellow-countryman of Picquet, M. André Chagny, professor at Bourg-en-Bresse (Department of the Ain), which is Picquet's native spot. This new biographer has so thoroughly examined all the known sources of information, published and unpublished, in America as well as Europe, that his work seems exhaustive. He has read all that has been written on the subject, and has noted all that remains known of his hero, from his birthplace at Bourg to the unknown grave in which he lies under the shadow of the steeple of Verjon, in the old cemetery now given over to weeds and decay.

Picquet, who was born in 1708 of a family in easy circum-

stances, entered the Sulpitian order, came to Canada in 1734, lived five years at Montreal, and was sent in 1739 to the mission at the Lake of Two Mountains, now known as Oka. Here for ten years he studied the customs of the Indians under his care—the fierce Iroquois in particular—learned their language, conformed to their modes of thought, and in the end acquired such ascendancy over them that he made them the faithful allies of the French. Those were the days of the petty wars with the colonists of New England, and he knew how to lead his converts in pursuit of the bands constantly sent against them.

M. Chagny relates, in as many graphic chapters, Picquet's childhood, his summons, his stay at Montreal, and the work he accomplished at Oka. He gives a rapid view of Canada in 1734, at the arrival of Picquet, describes Montreal, and intersperses very readable reflections upon the mistakes committed by France, and the hindrances to the development of the colony. In this connection he remarks that the morals of the people of Montreal at that time have been too strongly condemned. There was much luxury and extravagant living; but these excesses are only such as attend the beginnings of all new communities, and are to be seen now in Australia, the Klondike, and elsewhere.

After explaining the colonial rivalry of France and England in America, from the beginning down to 1740, M. Chagny describes the attitude of the Indians about Oka from 1743 to 1748. It is possible that he assigns here to Picquet too important a part, and goes too far when he asserts that the missionary twice helped to save the colony. It is quite certain that Picquet did render eminent service by inspiring his Indians with a warlike spirit, and in keeping the Government well informed by his scouts, but there was nothing beyond that. M. Chagny, has, in this part of his narration, too closely followed the story of the illustrious Lalande, the friend of Picquet. Exaggeration is often the besetting sin of biographers. M. Chagny is aware of it, and asserts it himself (p. 290), and he should have been more on his guard. However, from the documentary proofs cited, which were collected in the archives of Saint-Sulpice at Paris, one feels that Picquet played an important part at that time, and a part which is little known to our historians.

It was just after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, that Picquet came into full light, and showed all his worth, when he proposed to Governor de la Galissonnière to go and found at the head of the rapids, at the lower end of Lake Ontario, half-way between Oswego and Montreal, and almost in the very lair of the Iroquois, a post which should check the trade of the British, hold back the Indians, ensure free communication with the West, and open the door to the coveted valley of the Ohio. Despite the opposition of the Montreal merchants, who named his project "la folie Picquet," Galissonnière adopted the missionary's views.

Picquet's choice of the site for his fort has been much criticized; but Parkman himself commends the wisdom of his instinct and the sureness of his wide vision. He sacrificed part of his fortune in founding the post of La Présentation, and he was able to attract to it a substantial party of Iroquois. M. Chagny offers a rapid outline of the situation in Canada after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, very properly praises the intelligent views of Galissonnière regarding the Ohio valley, demonstrates the advantages of the post of La Présentation, and gives us a charming account of its foundation. The narrative, so far as published, ends here.

We know that in 1760, after governing at La Présentation for ten years, Picquet, pressed by Haldimand's army, was forced to abandon his post. He took refuge in Louisiana, from there made his way to France, where the Assembly of the Clergy voted him a pension. During his visit to Rome in 1777, the Pope made him a gift of 5,000 livres. Then he returned to his native Bourg-en-Bresse to seek peace and obscurity, and there he died in 1781, at the age of seventy-three.

No one ever controlled with more skill the minds of the Indians, or exercised over them a more continuous or salutary influence. He persuaded them to till the soil, maintained them in their allegiance to France, and urged them on to battle. To a practical mind and an energetic character he joined unfailing good humour. For twenty years he pursued his difficult and often stubborn task.

Picquet relates in one of his letters that he dreamed that his post would one day become a large city. His anticipations have

been realized, but the city bears the name of the second founder, David Ogden, who in 1785 bought the site from the State of New York. Ogdensburg is now the principal St. Lawrence port in that State. Its citizens have not forgotten the missionary: the Catholic church stands on the site of his chapel, and the foundation-stone of the first house is incased in the wall of the Town Hall. In 1899, there was raised in honour of François Picquet, "the Canadian," as he is still called in his native land, a monument which repeats to posterity his great deeds and his indefatigable devotion.

Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791. Selected and edited with notes by Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty. (Publications of the Canadian Archives.) Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1907. Pp. xiv, 734.

Canadian Constitutional Development shown by Selected Speeches and Despatches. With introduction and explanatory notes by H. E. Egerton and W. L. Grant. London: John Murray, 1907. Pp. xxii, 472.

The ably edited volume from the Canadian Archives continues the new departure in policy begun by the recent series of Instructions to Governors. Instead of a Report covering a variety of topics and outlining the range of new material recently acquired, we have in a single volume an exhaustive series of documents from the Archives illustrating the constitutional history for the first thirty years of the British occupation of Canada. We understand that it is intended to take up later periods in the same way, and when this is done the Archives will have published nearly complete documentary material for the constitutional history of Canada since 1759. No doubt in time other aspects of Canadian history will be dealt with in a similar way, and the Archives will thus furnish a large mass of original material not merely to investigators who go to Ottawa to engage in research, but also to students in all parts of Canada who will find these volumes readily within reach.

In the present volume all the important constitutional docu-

ments between 1759 and 1791 are printed in full, with the exception of the Instructions to Governors issued in a separate series. Thus we have here the text of the Articles of Capitulation of Quebec in 1759 and of Montreal in 1760, the text of the Treaty of Paris, of the Quebec Act, of the Constitutional Act of 1791, as well as of many minor enactments. When the original is in French an English translation invariably accompanies it. But we have more than these formal documents. We have contemporary official correspondence, petitions, etc., and are thus able to detect the public feeling of the time, and the forces working for or against the plans of the officials. Many of their reports are also given. Of course, not all of these documents are now printed for the first time, but they are now for the first time gathered together in coherent form.

The first of the chief stages of evolution which are outlined here is the transition from military to civil government under General Murray. The transition was not easy, as the famous Walker case, not mentioned in this volume, shows. Walker was a civilian magistrate whose tactless assertion of authority against the military led almost to his murder. In the end the civilian, or rather commercial, elements at Quebec proved strong enough to cause Murray's recall in 1766. Then Sir Guy Carleton carried on the government, and it was he who had the chief part in shaping the policy of Britain towards the French-Canadians resulting in the Quebec Act. No sooner was this Act passed than protests began. The *habitant* was enraged at the re-establishment of the seignior's rights, suspended, in part at least, since the conquest, and from these pages it is clear, if it needed still to be made clear, that the Quebec Act was no true *eirenicon* to the great mass of the population of French Canada. Upon the passing of the Act followed quickly the American Revolution which developed a wholly new set of problems for Canada. Now for the first time came a considerable movement of English-speaking people to the country. They were not content to live under the French civil law which the Quebec Act had established in Canada, and we find Sir John Johnson, their natural leader, petitioning in 1785 (p. 524) for a separate type of government for these new-comers. This need resulted in 1791 in the passing

of the Constitutional Act by which Canada was divided into two provinces, one prevailingly English, the other prevailingly French. With the passing of this enactment the present volume ends, and its varied contents enable us to trace clearly the forces working through the whole period.

The editors have done their work extremely well. To do it has involved going through not merely books, but also an enormous amount of manuscript material, to which abundant reference is made in the notes. These notes are often full; they are always scholarly. The material make-up of the book is not equal to its substance. It is printed in the usual style of Canadian government reports; the type is too small, and there are many misprints; the paper is not good enough; the margins are too narrow. The contents deserve a better appearance. A redeeming feature is a copious Index.

It remains to notice a second interesting volume on Canadian constitutional development which shows that the establishment of the chair in Colonial History at Oxford, has already produced excellent fruit. Professor Egerton tells us in the preface that while the plan of the present book is chiefly his, the main work of annotating the documents has been done by Mr. W. L. Grant. The aim of the book is to cover the chief phases of Canadian constitutional history since the British conquest. This has been done by concentrating attention on a limited range of topics. First are given the principal sections of the Instructions to Governor James Murray. The Quebec Act is the second topic. The chief speeches in the Imperial Parliament relating to the Act are summarized, something that the Archives volume does not attempt. Then follows a section on the Constitutional Act of 1791. The working of the Act was defective from the first. Proposals to repeal it and unite the two Canadas were seriously made by the Imperial Parliament in 1822, and a section is given to these proposals. Then follows a chapter dealing with Lord Durham's Report, and the last sections cover the development of responsible government in the Maritime Provinces and in Canada; the whole ending in the federation movement and the creation of the present federal constitution of the Dominion of Canada.

The topics are wisely selected, the selection of material is judicious, and the annotations—which are, it is true, very slight —are accurate. The book is supplementary to Mr. Houston's valuable "Constitutional Documents," which is, however, wider in scope, for it covers the French as well as the English régime. The present editors reprint hardly any of the constitutional enactments which they discuss, but confine themselves to extracts from contemporary comments. Perhaps some biographical detail in relation to the persons whose utterances are quoted would have added to the interest of the book, but for this the editors refer their readers to the "Dictionary of National Biography." The book will be invaluable as a text-book in colleges, and it is with this view chiefly that it has been compiled. It is, of course, not exhaustive, but it throws into relief the salient features of Canada's constitutional evolution during a century and a half; as Mr. Egerton says, it would be difficult to find any similar period "richer in constitutional experiences." It is true, as he adds, that the documents are "in part the record of human error and of the little wisdom with which the world is governed," but none the less both British and Canadian statesmen emerge with credit from the controversies in which they took part. We are, indeed, sometimes tempted to think the men of our own time a little less heroic in build than those who reared the political fabric of Canada. But no doubt similar crises now would bring forth similar insight and strength. At any rate we have in this volume a unique study of steady, progressive, rapid constitutional development.

Lord Dorchester. By A. G. Bradley. Toronto: Morang and Co., 1907. Pp. 327. Portrait. (The Makers of Canada.)

Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution. By Justin H. Smith. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Two vols. Pp. xxv, 638; xvii, 635. Illustrations.

Dorchester's life is evidently a congenial theme; Mr. Bradley has the pen of a ready writer; and at last the public has a

really good book on one of the greatest makers of the Empire. In this tercentennial year of Canada's foundation we should never forget that Carleton re-founded the country which traces its origin to Champlain's first building of Quebec in 1608, and that he saved it in a different way but to the same end as Frontenac did in 1690. His record is a complete one, from conquest to reconstruction. In 1759 he first came to Quebec, as Wolfe's Quartermaster-General and most trusted personal friend. For over ten years, from 1766 to 1777, he governed the country, healed its wounds, reconciled the French-Canadians to the British Crown, laid the basis of their special liberties by the Quebec Act of 1774, and saved Canada from the American invaders of 1775. In 1782 he performed, to the admiration of all who can appreciate the untoward circumstances of that troublous time, the exceedingly difficult duty of commanding the British troops kept in the revolted colonies till the United Empire Loyalists had a fair chance of emigrating to a land under a flag they loved. He closed his career by another ten years as Governor, from 1786 to 1796, during which the senior parliament of Greater Britain was first established, and the first generation of French and English-speaking Canada was shown the way towards the ultimate goal of confederation. This may be a commonplace of textbooks, but it will bear repetition to-day.

Mr. Bradley has to deal with many aspects of Canadian life—naval and military history, the seigniorial system, the Roman Catholic Church, the coming of the Loyalists, the reconciliation of the two races, and the work of the first Parliament—and he keeps them all in focus with the central figure of his hero. There are a few small flaws. But Mr. Bradley's book would still be among the very best of its series if its flaws were twice as many. At page 11 an Englishman would be led to believe that Canadian seigniories made the seigniors into a definite *noblesse* in the European sense of the word, or perhaps into something analogous to the Norman *noblesse* under William the Conqueror. The absence of territorial hereditary titles, the difference between a *habitant* and an old feudal vassal, and some other points, constituted a real change in the new country. The remarks at pages 47-51 are excellent in knowledge and good sense.

The seigniors could never be expected to become loyal to the British Crown so long as they were excluded from all appointments under it. We are not quite sure that Mr. Bradley finds it easy to put himself sympathetically in the place of the French-Canadian priesthood. But he is never less than correct in his expressions, he evidently tries to be just, and sometimes he would like to be generous. It is strange to find the author of "The Fight with France for North America" making a slip in reference to the Battle of the Plains. Yet Mr. Bradley says Carleton "led a regiment of grenadiers" on that occasion. The Louisbourg "Grenadiers" were not a regiment, but a three-company battalion, specially formed from the grenadier companies of five regiments that had not been ordered to Quebec. They were on the right of the line, Carleton on the left. Then, the grenadier companies of the ten battalions present were not detached and formed into a separate grenadier battalion, as they had been at Montmorency, but kept with their respective units, unlike the light infantry companies which were formed in battalion under Colonel Howe.

Mr. Bradley's main thesis is Carleton the constitutional pioneer. And the general reader could hardly have a better guide, philosopher and friend to explain the way in which Canadian growth was fostered by that wise hand in those early days of small beginnings and vast possibilities. Carleton was very English in his outlook on statecraft. He did not attempt to provide for posterity on any logical system of paternal government. Indeed he did not see so very far ahead as his admirers seem to think he did. He was a cautious opportunist, though by no means in any offensive sense of that word. He once advised that the French criminal code should be retained. He did not think there would ever be any other than a French-Canadian Canada, with perhaps some English in the towns. No one then could have positively known much about the general resources of the country beyond Montreal; but Pitt and Wolfe would have had at least a vision of future greatness had they spent twenty-one years at the helm. Carleton was perhaps not very imaginative, and did not think easily in continental proportions. But he took up his work as it came to him, day by day; he never

flinched before its difficulties, never stopped till he had overborne them or turned them to useful ends. He felt his way into constitutional positions with the same calm self-reliance he displayed as a staff officer in a campaign; and he always grew a little faster and deeper than the growth of the country. In personal character he was all an upright gentleman should be; and far beyond the accepted standard of his day. He gave up all the fees and perquisites attached to the governorship, with as fine a sense of patriotic honour as Pitt had shown when he refused to touch the half-per-cent. commission on foreign loans. He won the confidence of the French-Canadians in a supreme degree. But he did not win their affection as Murray did. He was more of the impersonal earthly Providence than the warmer-tempered Scot. Taken all in all, however, he was emphatically the man for the time and place and circumstances, and we owe to Mr. Bradley gratitude for this clear, concise and sympathetic record of his career.

We have only one regret, and that is that the good may be the enemy of the best in the case of this delightful book. There are still some unused documents which give us more of the flesh-and-blood and confidential side of Carleton, as well as the state-paper view. The Canadian Archives published, about the time Mr. Bradley's book appeared, "Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791," which his readers should refer to, especially pages 552, 567-8, 586-7, 629, 634. If the Carleton bibliography can be made practically final in the near future, we hope to see Mr. Bradley raise his present work to the secure level of a Canadian classic.

Mr. Smith's *Fourteenth Colony* is laid out on such a magnificent scale, some details are described with such lavish generosity of space, nearly all incidents are so profusely illustrated, and the whole appearance of these two massive volumes is so imposing, that a reviewer thinks twice before he dares to classify such a monument of industry as a minor work of no lasting historical importance. How Mr. Smith can heap up the riches of his collection to such a height and then give them over to the Philistines, though he is evidently "knowledgeable" enough to appreciate their real value, is rather hard to understand. One

would have thought that an author whose tastes and researches combined to give him a unique opportunity of lifting this subject, once and for all, on to the classic stage of American history, would have taken his chance with both hands. But—perhaps, it may be, in spite of his better judgment—he has addressed most of his 400,000 words to the "patriotic" gallery, and the rest of the house is left lamenting the loss of what might so well have become a masterpiece.

Mr. Smith is philosopher enough to know that people sometimes work out their native destiny in a native way, which, though inferior on general principles, is superior in particular application to their own circumstances. Yet his book would persuade us that the French-Canadians were blind to the advantages of "Continental" ways of government, and that, by all the rules of the game, they ought to have been only too glad to throw up their caps and shout for the invaders of 1775—even though the cry might have only been, *puisqu'il le faut, vive la liberté!* There is no abuse of the British. Mr. Smith is much too good an author to descend to that, even to please his patriotic gallery. His picture of Carleton coming out of his quarters to direct the defence against Montgomery's assault is quite worthy of its theme, and is generously conceived and worded. But omissions and insertions, and the whole style of the book, all point the same falsely "patriotic" way. The annoying thing about all this is that it really is so needless from the American point of view itself. The invasion was a feat of arms—especially Arnold's march from Cambridge to Quebec, so thoroughly described by Mr. Smith in a previous volume—of which no army need be ashamed. If ever men "endured hardness as good soldiers" those Yankee levies did. Their abortive assault was a fine soldiers' battle, and though Montgomery was no general he was a gallant man. The Americans have nothing to fear from the truth, so far as the behaviour of the troops in the field is concerned. And Mr. Smith, one would think, is just the writer to have set forth their true glory in a proper way. But no. He does not give the important details of Whitcombe's shooting General Gordon under circumstances which made it so colourably like murder that good American officers thought of

it with shame. And he would fain represent the defeat of Montgomery at the Près-de-Ville barricade as due to every other circumstance except the vigilance and staunchness of the fifty men on guard there. The two recently published volumes of the diaries and orders of the siege show the true cause beyond a shadow of a doubt (*vide* Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents, Vols. vii and viii, *The Blockade of Quebec in 1775-6*). Mr. Smith's word is hardly the last one on the affair at the Cedars, the taking of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, the troubles in Montreal, etc., etc. The pity of it all is that he might have been the historian to give a final account of this whole campaign, and that he has missed his chance. Even his style would have prevented the book from taking a permanent place among historical works; for whenever the subject calls for eloquence Mr. Smith responds with journalese. And this, again, is the pity of it; for he can write, and write well, in quite a different style.

WILLIAM WOOD

Blockade of Quebec in 1775-1776 by the American Revolutionists (*Les Bastonnais*). Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and Edited by Fred. C. Würtele. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 135.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec published in 1905 a series of documents on the American invasion of 1775. We note now the appearance of another volume in 1906 completing the series. The present volume contains the hitherto unpublished journal of an artillery officer on the British side bought by Jared Sparks in London in 1848. The journal has not been published in the United States apparently because it takes the anti-American view of events. In the present volume it covers some fifty pages and consists principally of notes of the weather, with a short record of happenings from day to day, involving nothing very new. The most vivid touches are those describing the American fire-ship which appeared before Quebec, May 3rd, 1776, and the arrival three days later of the vanguard of a British fleet. These passages illustrate the emotions of the time at Quebec, and the intense joy at being relieved.

We have next a reprint, covering some forty pages, of an anonymous journal of events in Quebec at this time, edited in 1824 by W. T. P. Shortt. The journal is reprinted because of its rarity, but the former editor's notes and comments are omitted, a proceeding of doubtful wisdom. The journal contains a very full account of the events of December 31st, 1775. We may doubt the literal accuracy of the description of what happened then at the Sault au Matelot, but the account is very vivid. When the Americans were before the last barricade, a British officer, Captain Lawes, appeared alone among them and said:

"'You are all my prisoners.' . . . You may well conceive the surprise of those who had made themselves masters of our post, at being addressed in such language. 'How,' said they, 'your prisoners? You are ours.' 'No, no, my dear creatures,' replied he, 'I vow to God you are all mine, don't mistake yourselves.' 'But where are your men?' 'Oho,' says he, 'make yourselves easy about that matter, they are all about here, and will be with you in a twinkling.' Conversation to that purpose for nearly ten minutes was carried on, during which period a proposal was made to kill him, which was overruled; in the interim his party arrived, made themselves masters of the post, and placing the enemy between two fires, secured it, with the assistance of Captain McDougal."

The usual accounts of what took place at this point are so confused that it is interesting to get this testimony of one who thinks he knows all about it.

The volume contains, in addition, some two or three minor papers relating to the time, and a valuable bibliography of the invasion of Canada, 1775-1776. Of the original material the Quebec Literary and Historical Society has published a considerable portion, but naturally it selects that written from the British point of view. To cover the whole ground one must still consult the numerous scattered journals and diaries printed in the United States. The present volume with its predecessor makes available an important part of the original records, for which we are thankful. Probably there is not much more to come to light on this period.

Miss Mary A. M. Marks writes an animated narrative in two volumes on *England and America, 1763-1783.** It is, in-

* *England and America, 1763 to 1783. The History of a Reaction.* By Mary A. M. Marks. Two vols. London: Brown, Langham & Co., Ltd., 1907. Pp. xxiii, 1306.

deed, more animated than exact. There is a chapter on the American invasion of Canada, which, however, contains nothing new. The book is the "History of a Reaction," and though the author is British she is anxious to prove the British always in the wrong during the revolutionary war. The volume, while giving an interesting account of twenty eventful years, will hardly be accepted as a scientific historical narrative. The index is bad; though a whole chapter is given to Canada and there are many other references, the word does not appear.

Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin has made a curious collection of references to Catholics in the American Revolution,* much of which relates to Canada; for instance, we have a large number of contemporary papers relating to the priest Lotbinière, who joined the American invaders of Canada in 1775 in spite of the denunciations of the Catholic Bishop of Quebec. The Puritan invaders of Canada promised Lotbinière a Roman Catholic bishopric! He had not been in good standing in his Church before 1775, and afterwards was of course obliged to leave Canada. In the United States he fell into great poverty. We have here his numerous appeals to the Congress for financial aid. Mr. Griffin reprints Washington's address to the Canadians, which is scarce and we are therefore glad to have. He has ransacked contemporary newspapers and other sources, and prints everything in detail. The book is only a collection of such extracts. It has no literary merit; its author does not even put the accents required on the French words. But the volume will have a certain value for the student of the time, and it shows how strenuously the Roman Catholic Church opposed the American invader of Canada.

The volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*† dealing with the period of the Restoration after Bonaparte's fall has a short chapter on Canada written by Mr. E. A. Benians, Fellow

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* *Catholics and the American Revolution.* By Martin I. J. Griffin. Ridley Park, Pa. Published by the Author, 1907. Pp. 352.

† *The Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. x. (Chap. xxi: *Canada.* By E. A. Benians.) London: Macmillan & Co., 1907.

of St. John's College, Cambridge. The period covered is that from 1763 to 1840. An article so brief is necessarily a mere summary. Its most valuable feature is an adequate bibliography contained on pages 871-878. The bibliography is nearly as long as the article, and is, if anything, too exhaustive, since there is no indication of the relative value of the works mentioned.

Volume VIII of Colonel Cruikshank's excellent *Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier** brings the record down to the middle of December, 1813. The editor confines himself to the attempt to reproduce accurately correspondence, reports, and newspaper extracts. There are no explanatory notes—a mistake, we think, for the editor's unrivalled knowledge would enable him to give illuminating comments. British and American dispatches are printed indiscriminately, without explanation of their origin beyond that furnished by the names of the writers; a clearer characterization would be useful. "Letter from Sec. Navy to Perry" (p. 10), "Chauncey to Secretary Navy" (p. 104), are headings not quite dignified enough in form for so serious a work. "U. S. General Pike" for "U. S. Ship General Pike" (p. 15) should also have been avoided. But these are minor defects. Colonel Cruikshank's name is a guarantee for the accuracy of the text of the volume. His present task is nearing completion, and we hope that, this done, he will turn his attention to writing a history of the war.

The Fight at Battle Hill† was an incident in a raid from Detroit into Upper Canada begun in the latter part of February, 1814, and primarily aimed at Port Talbot. After advancing as far as Point aux Pins the raiders found the road along the lake impassable and struck off through woods towards the Thames, with the intention of reaching their objective by some other route. At the crossing of the Twenty Mile Creek near the

* *The Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier in 1812-1814.* Volume viii, Part iv, 1813, October to December. Collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank. [1907.] Pp. 280, xx.

† *The Fight at Battle Hill.* A paper read by Mr. J. I. Poole before the Middlesex Historical Society, on the evening of May 19th, 1903. Pp. 36.

present village of Wardsville, where they had occupied and fortified a strong position, since locally known as Battle Hill, they were attacked by a British force of regulars and militia, which they succeeded in repulsing with severe loss. Mr. Poole has written a very satisfactory account of this affair, and printed many illustrative documents, annotated with unusual care and good judgment. Unfortunately his pages are disfigured by numerous misprints.

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*The Letters of Queen Victoria,** though they cover an important period, have only slight references to Canadian affairs; what references there are show that the Queen had but little sympathy with self-government in Canada. Lord Metcalfe, as we know, quarrelled with his ministers because they claimed full responsibility, but after his resignation the Queen is anxious that his "prudent, consistent, and impartial" administration shall be continued. It seems that it was the Queen herself who suggested the name "British" Columbia for that province. Though, in addition to these, there are occasional references to Canada, they involve nothing of permanent importance.

À propos of Mr. Reid's *Life,* the Edinburgh Review discusses the career of Lord Durham.† The article is a frank admission of the correctness of Mr. Jebb's plea for colonial nationalism. The Edinburgh, indeed, controverts Mr. Jebb on some points, but it ends by blessing him and by urging that the unity of the Empire is best preserved by the completer freedom of its component parts. An article in MacMillan's Magazine on Lord Durham‡ does not call for special discussion.

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* *The Letters of Queen Victoria. A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861.* Published by authority of His Majesty the King. Edited by Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher. Three volumes. London: John Murray, 1907.

† *The First Earl of Durham and Colonial Aspiration.* (The Edinburgh Review, January, 1907, pp. 246-272.)

‡ *The First Lord Durham.* By H. Bruce Dodwell. (MacMillan's Magazine, May, 1907, pp. 547-560.)

Lafontaine et son temps. Par Alfred D. De Celles. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1907. Pp. 208.

Cartier et son temps. Par Alfred D. De Celles. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1907. Pp. 194.

Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks. By Stephen Leacock. Toronto: Morang and Co., 1907. Pp. xii, 372. (The Makers of Canada.)

In his biographies of Lafontaine and Cartier, together with his study of *Papineau et son temps,* published in 1906, Dr. De Celles has given us a survey of the political history of Canada during a very considerable portion of the nineteenth century; for between the birth of Papineau and the death of Cartier elapsed a period of over fourscore years. In the political annals of French Canada from the stormy era preceding the rebellion of 1837 to the accession of the Liberals to power in 1874, these three statesmen, Papineau, Lafontaine, and Cartier, successively occupied posts of the highest prominence; each was called upon in turn to assume the leadership of a powerful element in Canadian politics; and each embodied in his personal qualities and aspirations the strong and weak qualities of the virile race from which he sprang.

The brilliant but impetuous Papineau typified not inaccurately the methods and ambitions of a people striving to wrench from a mistrusted suzerain political privileges which they believed to be wrongfully and unjustly withheld. The battle for responsible government having been won, a leader possessing more political sanity and stability was needed, and Lafontaine assumed this rôle, giving place somewhat later to the most conservative, and in some respects the most sagacious of the three, Cartier, who marshalled the public opinion of his native province to the support of Confederation. The Norman race in the New World has been prolific of statesmen, many of whom have displayed rare genius in dealing with the problems of political leadership; but on this considerable list there are probably no names more honoured or more worthy of honour than those of Sir Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine and Sir George Étienne Cartier.

Lafontaine, born in 1807, made his first appearance on the

political stage in 1830, when he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada as member for Terrebonne. In the Assembly he naturally ranged himself at once among the followers of Papineau; but he was not a slavish adherent, having little or no sympathy with the violent measures of which his leader was the outspoken champion. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that, failing in his efforts to prevent a resort to arms in 1837, he went abroad to France, and returned to Canada only when the ill-starred rising had been utterly crushed. On his return Lafontaine was, like others of his political antecedents, thrust into prison; but in a few days was released. As soon as political matters had become somewhat more settled he was marked out as the natural leader of French-Canadian opinion, and it was as such that the new governor, Lord Sydenham, turned to him for support in a plan to base the political future of the now united provinces on the firm foundations of conciliation. Without the cordial co-operation of at least a section of the French-Canadians, the new régime, as established in 1841, seemed doomed to fail. Lafontaine, for the time being, decided to decline a portfolio in the new coalition ministry with which Sydenham sought to surround himself, and at the elections of 1841 was defeated in his old constituency of Terrebonne. At the subsequent by-elections he was accorded the signal honour of being returned as the representative of York, in Upper Canada, and this paved the way for his acceptance of a portfolio in the so-called Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry of 1842. This coalition ministry had, however, but a short tenure of office, for a disagreement with Governor Metcalfe in 1843 resulted in its disruption. At the elections of the following year the opponents of the coalition ministry secured a small majority, and Lafontaine, although retaining his seat in the Assembly, spent the ensuing four years outside the ministerial circle. But in 1848 the Liberals regained a decisive predominance in the legislature, and Lafontaine once again co-operated with Baldwin in the formation of what was popularly known as "The Great Ministry." It was this ministry that steered the colony through the storm and stress of the Rebellion Losses question, laid the foundations of the Canadian system of local government, inaugurated a col-

onial railway system, and secured the adoption of many other measures of high value. It was under Lafontaine's leadership, and largely through his influence, that the two races now prepared to set aside their profitless animosities and to co-operate with some degree of cordiality in the task of making the system of responsible government a real success.

But if the achievements of "The Great Ministry" were notable, its tasks were indeed prodigious. The settlement of two difficult and delicate questions—the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and the abolition of the seigniorial tenure—would have put to severe test the statesmanship of any ministry, and it was in his attempt to reconcile jarring interests upon these matters that Lafontaine soon found himself at odds with his colleagues. Defections from among the higher ranks of his followers served, perhaps unnecessarily, to dishearten him, and in 1851 he retired from the ministry and from public life. In recognition of his abilities and of his services to the colony he was appointed Chief Justice of Lower Canada in 1853, and in the year following the honour of a baronetcy was conferred upon him by the Crown. The honoured legal post Lafontaine held with the highest credit until his death in 1864.

To Lafontaine's political career Dr. De Celles does ample justice. In his estimation of the man and of his services there is neither fatuous eulogy nor hostile bias. The author's attitude toward the political environment in which Lafontaine accomplished his work is sane and judicious; and although he naturally approaches his subject from the standpoint of a French-Canadian scholar, there is an evident desire to deal fairly and in a scientific spirit with the political figures and issues concerned. The one important failing of an otherwise admirable biographical study is that it fails to recognize what has within recent years come to be appreciated by students of the pre-Confederation period in Canadian history, namely, that Sir Louis Lafontaine was no less a jurist than a statesman. His work on the bench was in no sense inferior either in point of brilliancy or of enduring advantage to his achievements and influence in the halls of the Assembly. Lafontaine was quite the ablest Canadian jurist of his generation, notwithstanding the fact that he was a contemporary

of Drummond, Angers, Aylwin, Mondelet, Morin, Loranger and Christopher Dunkin. A study of his decisions, and particularly of his elaborate *Observations* delivered in connection with the work of the Special Court for the Abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure, will disclose the marks of a rare proficiency in legal history combined with a remarkable power of judicial analysis. It was due very largely to his calm and mature judgment that the whole vexed question of seigniorial abolition was disposed of with the minimum of disturbance to the important vested interests concerned. Both by his inclinations and by his attainments Lafontaine was more fitted for his later than for his earlier work; and it is no disparagement of his achievements in the field of statesmanship to suggest that his place in history ought not to be determined without reference to that more congenial field of action in which he spent his happier and maturer years.

George Étienne Cartier, who had made his first appearance in Canadian public life as the friend and disciple of Papineau, and who had himself borne the arms of rebellion in 1837, became a member of the Legislative Assembly in 1849 as the representative of Verchères. The lapse of years had chastened his radicalism, and Cartier soon found himself at the head of the more conservative wing of the French-Canadians, an element which was now steadily growing in strength. As such he entered the McNab-Taché ministry in 1855, and for the first time linked his name with that of Sir John A. Macdonald. Although Cartier and Macdonald had scarcely a single trait in common, the alliance now formed proved to be of the most enduring character, unshaken by the political vicissitudes of the next twenty years, and terminating only with the death of Cartier in 1874.

During his tenure of ministerial office Cartier had a large share in the promotion of legislation vital to the interests of his native province. The abolition of the seigniorial tenure; the recodification of the French civil law; the simplification of judicial process; the reform of the system of land registration; the fixing of the civil status of the Church;—these and many other important measures owe much to his well balanced judgment and to his skill as a political tactician. But important though these

are, they scarcely rank in value with the greatest of all Cartier's services to Canada—his part in the successful movement for the confederation of the provinces. We have the word of Sir Charles Tupper that, had Cartier withheld his concurrence, this confederation could not have been accomplished. Certain it is, at any rate, that Cartier's support of the project greatly facilitated its success, for upon him more than upon any other man fell the task of swinging Quebec into line with the English-speaking provinces. In elaborating the details of the agreement upon which the confederation of 1867 was based Cartier's influence was decisive upon many points, and to him is largely due the generous field of administrative activity which the scheme of union, as finally arranged, reserved to the authorities of the several provinces. To prove himself the friend of compromise on this important occasion heavily taxed Cartier's personal courage; but this quality he possessed in unusual degree. An attitude of conciliation, a loyalty to his colleagues which never wavered, and a rare readiness to risk his political future in behalf of policies which he deemed to be in the public interest,—these were qualities which marked each stage of Cartier's activities as a public man. A career fertile in real services to his race was clouded in its later days by Cartier's deep involvement in the Pacific scandal, a lapse from the paths of political rectitude which no admirer of his personal worth and services may in any way condone. Cartier was not the only sinner in this connection; perhaps he was not the most culpable; but an early death denied him the opportunity afforded to his colleagues of seeking political rehabilitation.

In both biographies Dr. De Celles displays his well known mastery of the art of writing. He possesses in unusual degree the faculty, not rare among scholars of his race, of combining vigour and expressiveness with grace and dignity of style. The high literary quality of the volumes will of itself commend them to the general reader, even though the special student of Canadian political history may cavil at the author's failure to present much that is new.

Of somewhat different scope and method is Mr. Leacock's

handsome volume on Baldwin, Lafontaine, and Hincks in the *Makers of Canada* series. The real nature of this work is, indeed, better indicated by its sub-title: it is a monograph upon the development of responsible government in Canada during the period 1837-1851, the public careers of the statesmen being used only to furnish the narrative of political development with its guiding lines. Of personal biography the book, of course, contains a considerable amount; but this is everywhere subordinated to the writer's discussion of the main issue, the final struggle of the representatives of the people for political mastery over the representative of the Crown.

An introductory chapter sketches in outline the political history of the two Canadas from the Conquest to 1837, preparing the way for a discussion of the events of the Rebellion and, incidentally, for a short consideration of Durham and his mission to the colony. The last-named episode is quickly disposed of; too quickly, perhaps, in view of its fundamental importance in the chain of events which led to the final triumph of colonial autonomy. It is no doubt true that Durham's real contribution to the cause of responsible government in Canada has been frequently misunderstood and more frequently overrated by students of imperial politics, many of whom have too readily become possessed of the notion that when the famous *Report on the Affairs of British North America* was penned the struggle for responsible government was at an end. Mr. Leacock, of course, finds no difficulty in dispelling this illusion and in showing that not until Elgin's signature had been appended to the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849 could the final capitulation of the reactionists be proclaimed. The statesmen who drew up the Act of Union in 1840, while protesting their deference to Durham's recommendations, carefully refrained from inserting in the measure any provision which might definitely commit the imperial authorities to a full recognition of the principle of executive responsibility. For nearly a decade after the Union Act had gone upon the statute-books this question was allowed to furnish a fertile ground of friction between the colonial governors and the elective organs of administration. This was especially true during the term of Sir Charles Metcalfe, when the deter-

mination of the Governor-General to make certain appointments against the wishes of his advisers precipitated the resignation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry.

But while the question thus hung fire for nearly ten years, the final issue was really never in doubt. In one of the pregnant passages of his epoch-marking Report the Earl of Durham had tersely summed up the whole situation. "It is a vain illusion," he wrote, "to imagine that simple restrictions in the constitution will induce any body of popular representatives to content themselves with a mere voice in legislation, at the same time resting passive and indifferent while men in whose capacity and intentions they have no confidence manage the affairs of the colony." The imperial ministers recognized the truth of this; and the only alternatives open to the home authorities in 1840 were those of abolishing the colonial legislature altogether or of gracefully acquiescing in its ultimate assertion of a master hand. The former of these alternatives was, thanks to Durham's brilliant exposition of the causes of colonial discontent and to the temper of the English people, entirely out of the question; for it may be suggested that England was at this time prepared to brook no repetition of the administrative follies which had, some sixty years before, cost the empire its colonies to the south. The latter alternative was therefore tacitly, if not expressly, accepted by the imperial authorities. The Canadian representatives of the Crown concurred very grudgingly and with many misgivings, the executive year by year yielding an inch when the legislature sought an ell; but the outcome, it may again be emphasized, was never after 1840 more than a mere question of time.

It is the history of this later conflict between reaction and reform, from the pitched battles of 1835-1840 to the final surrender of the reactionists in 1849, that Mr. Leacock has handled with an industry and enthusiasm worthy of a more critical stage in the great struggle. It marked, in truth, the aftermath of a great political conflict, but only the aftermath. The retreat of the reactionary party was slow and stubborn; but Elgin's action in the Rebellion Losses matter followed the general administrative arrangements of 1840 as logically as Appomattox followed Gettysburg. The guerilla warfare of Metcalfe and his friends,

while it served to protract the campaign beyond the point where it most naturally would have closed, could scarcely in any event have altered the final outcome.

The political broils of this period, 1840-1850, while involving issues less critical than one is perhaps led from the general tenor of the volume to believe, have no doubt their interest and importance. They represent the efforts of two races striving to join harmoniously in the task of making colonial self-government a real success, yet encountering obstacles to peaceful co-operation which were as bewildering as they were abundant. The annals of Canadian politics during this decade can scarcely be called inspiring; and the narrative of factional bickerings, when spread over three hundred and fifty pages, might well prove forbidding. Mr. Leacock has, however, given it an unusual interest, untangling the difficult threads with dexterity; and by his skill in separating the salient from the subsidiary has spared his readers the tedious task of groping their way along the by-paths. The book is written in clear, vigorous English; and its literary quality will prove not the least among its attractions.

In the preparation of his volume the author has made considerable use of manuscript material, some of which had not hitherto been used to advantage, although its high value is undoubted. This he winnows with discrimination and judgment. For the larger part of his data, however, dependence has been placed upon secondary printed sources of varying value, such, for example, as Scrope's *Sydenham,* Kaye's *Metcalfe,* Lindsey's *Mackenzie,* Turcotte's *Canada sous l'Union,* Taylor's *Portraits of British Americans,* and the various earlier biographical studies in the *Makers of Canada* series. The volume, therefore, reflects, in some of its most important discussions, the qualities of the diverse sources from which material has been drawn; and although Mr. Leacock has used his data skilfully, the whole monograph scarcely stamps upon the careful reader a sufficient impression of authoritativeness or finality. Herein, it is true, the book sins less grievously than do some other contributions to the *Makers of Canada;* but the friendly fashion in which substantial merit and crude mediocrity have from the beginning rubbed shoulders in this series has already elicited remark.

Despite this somewhat generous dependence upon sources of information whose reliability is fairly open to question, the volume is very acceptable in that it emphasizes in a distinctly valuable manner some new phases of political development and presents much somewhat familiar matter in a newer and unusually attractive form. To the ranks of historical writers an author of Mr. Leacock's versatility is a rare and very welcome addition.

In its material make-up the volume leaves nothing to be desired; for in all that concerns typography, binding, and general workmanship the book reflects high credit upon the publishers and affords gratifying testimony to the progress of the art of bookmaking in the Dominion.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

One might expect something illuminating in the Memoirs of a former Governor-General of Canada, but the Duke of Argyll's notes contain practically nothing.* The book is dull reading and there are annoying small inaccuracies. Sir John Macdonald's name is always "MacDonald;" the Duke speaks of the Supreme Court of "Ottawa"; of "Fredericktown" for Fredericton; and so on. He is discreet in regard to political matters, but he records only commonplaces. His drawings of scenes in Canada are well done and interesting.

Mr. James H. Coyne's sketch of the late Dr. Bucke† reveals a character of extraordinary force. In his early years Bucke had some amazing adventures in California, in the course of which he was maimed for life. He then studied medicine and died in 1902 in his sixty-first year while holding the post of superintendent of the Asylum for the Insane at London, Ontario. Bucke was an intimate friend of Walt Whitman and one of his executors. He took no part in public affairs, but was a striking and interesting personality.

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* *Passages from the Past.* By His Grace the Duke of Argyll. Two volumes. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1907. Pp. x, 694.

† *Richard Maurice Bucke—A Sketch.* By James. H. Coyne. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, Volume xii, section ii, pp. 159-196.)

The Northwest Mounted Police. A Corps History. By Captain Ernest J. Chambers. Montreal, Ottawa: The Mortimer Press [1907]. Pp. 160.

The splendid services of the Northwest Mounted Police for more than thirty years in the maintenance of law and order and the punishment of crime throughout an immense and little known territory have been such as to command the admiration of all who have seen them at work. There was a manifest temptation to dwell upon the more dramatic and sensational incidents which Captain Chambers has resolutely and successfully put aside in this highly creditable effort to produce an authentic record. For this there was fortunately no lack of material in official reports, correspondence, and journals of which he has made excellent use.

The pioneer duties of the force were necessarily the establishment of police stations, the exploration of the surrounding country, the extinction of tribal wars among the Indians, and the suppression of the whiskey trade. All this was accomplished with scarcely any bloodshed and a very moderate expenditure of money when the United States was wasting millions of dollars and hundreds of lives annually in military operations in the immediate vicinity of the Canadian frontier. The irruption of several thousands of fugitive Sioux gave just cause for anxiety and increased vigilance. For four years these intruders were kept under constant supervision and control, every movement they made was noted and reported, and they were eventually induced to return quietly to the United States.

The Mounted Police transmitted early and prompt information of the growing dissatisfaction and unrest among the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan in the summer of 1884, and had their warnings been heeded the unfortunate rising that ensued might have been averted. When the outbreak actually occurred they were the only troops available, and took an active and creditable part in all subsequent military operations, during which their knowledge of the country proved invaluable.

Their sphere of operations has been gradually extended from the United States boundary to the shores of the Arctic

Ocean and from Hudson Bay to Alaska. Quite recently a prisoner was brought for trial to Edmonton, after a journey of 1,788 miles by canoe and dog-train. In another instance an officer travelled 1,750 miles by the same conveyances to investigate the death of an Indian which was attended by suspicious circumstances. In general their difficult duties have been performed not only with admirable courage and endurance, but with such tact and discretion as to command unqualified approval.

During the Boer war eighteen officers and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and privates served in the Canadian contingents. Sergeant H. Richardson won the Victoria Cross by a signal act of gallantry. Lieut.-Colonel Steele received the Cross of the Bath; two officers were made Companions of the Order of St. Michael and St. George; three others, Companions of the Distinguished Service Order, and three non-commissioned officers and privates were awarded the medal for distinguished conduct.

Captain Chambers has accomplished his task in a very satisfactory manner. His book is well printed and fully illustrated.

Some useful historical papers were read before the Canadian Military Institute in 1906.* Colonel Cruikshank continued his series of articles on the service of Canadian regiments in the war of 1812 and discussed the *Militia of Essex and Kent,* who made, it must be admitted, no very creditable showing. Sir Frederick Borden gives an account of *The Canadian Militia, past, present, and future,* which includes a brief historical sketch. He makes the too optimistic prophecy that in 1911 Canada will have 8,000,000 people, possibly 10,000,000, and he thinks that even now she could put 100,000 men into the field. An article by Major Denny, recently Director-General of Military Intelligence in Canada, on the *Canadian Military Forces, their Rise and Development,* is a brief survey of Canada's military history. Incidentally he charges that political influence has determined the placing of a summer camp, for instance, in a place totally unfit

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**Selected Papers from the Transactions of the Canadian Military Institute.* [No. 14.] 1906. Printed for the Canadian Military Institute by The Tribune, Welland. Pp. 99.

for the purpose. Major Denny sees great improvements, but he is obviously not quite sure that Canada's military control of Halifax and Esquimalt will make for efficiency.

The invaluable *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques** is slowly changing its character. There are still short notes which make it the Canadian "Notes and Queries," but there are in addition long articles running through several numbers and constituting serious additions to Canadian research. We have in the volume for 1907 a Life of the Abbé André Doucet, curé of Quebec, 1807-14, by Monseigneur Têtu. He also has a long article, practically a book, on the Chapter of the Quebec Cathedral and its delegates in France, the substance consisting of the letters of the Canons Père Hazeur de L'Orme and Jean-Marie de La Corne. There is a history of the duel in Canada under the French régime, and there are also notes on family history, especially that of the family of Maloizes. The funeral sermon of Bishop St. Vallier, portentously long, is reprinted. The *Bulletin* is indispensable to those following the most recent researches in Canadian history.

During 1907 *The University Magazine* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co.) has widened its scope until it may be said to be representative of the educational thought of Canada. It appears quarterly and is under the control of representatives of McGill University, the University of Toronto (not "Toronto University," as stated in the announcement), and Dalhousie University. The articles dealing with Canada's political status are varied and excellent. Mr. E. W. Thomson, asking "What will the West do with Canada?" points out that there is a distinct Canadian type on which new-comers in the West will be moulded; that the West will be just the East expanded. Principal Peterson, writing in April, appealed to the Imperial Conference to do something—it is not quite clear what. Professor Leacock, in the same number, has a bombastic article on "Greater Canada." He speaks of the Imperial Parliament as "jangling . . . . over little

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* *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.* Lévis, 1907.

Ireland, that makes and unmakes ministries, and never a thought of Canada; jangling now over their Pantaloon Suffragettes and their swaddled Bishops." Canada's Parliament is treated to the following description: "Harsh is the cackle of the little turkey-cocks of Ottawa, fighting the while as they feather their own nests of sticks and mud, high on their river bluff." The people from the United States who come to Canada and talk of annexation are to be thrown out "breeches first." One wonders what possibly useful end such a style of writing can be supposed to achieve. Dr. Andrew Macphail's articles are always sane and illuminating. His "Loyalty to what?" means that if Canada is loyal to itself it cannot fail to be loyal to the British Empire, while his article on "The Patience of England" is a tribute to the magnanimity of Great Britain in dealing with Canadian interests. When he asks "What can Canada do?" he has in mind the regeneration of the half-idle class in England and he contends that the rigour of the Canadian climate, combined with the adequate reward in Canada for hard work, would rehabilitate many if they were transplanted. *The University Magazine* has set itself the task of correcting the present opinion in Canada that British diplomacy on Canada's behalf has uniformly failed. An anonymous article on the Ashburton Treaty claims that this was really a British victory, while Mr. D. A. McArthur, dealing with the Alaska Boundary Award, contends that it is fairly vindicated by an interpretation of the documents. The fault with Mr. McArthur's argument is that he proves too much. According to him there could never have been any serious doubts as to the decision to be reached.

The Empire Review devotes a number of articles to Canadian affairs. The Editor, Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, writes on the Colonial Conference, but gives chiefly a somewhat bald analysis of the proceedings, with comment favourable to Mr. Deakin's point of view. Mr. Gerald Adams writes on *Emigration and Canada,* suggesting better methods of organization. Colonel Mark Goldie's *A Canadian Farm* is an account of pioneer work in the West. Miss E. K. Sibbald's *Canadian Sketches* are not very illuminating. Mrs. E. Conybeare-Craven's *Ranch Life*

in British Columbia is an interesting sketch of domestic life, sport, harvesting, Indians, and a destructive fire in a British Columbia valley.

The Canadian Magazine (Toronto) contains the usual number of articles on current Canadian topics, such as the Imperial idea and its alternative separate nationality, immigration of Asiatics into British Columbia, the relations of Newfoundland with Canada, and various industrial enterprises. Colonel Hamilton Merritt's two papers on *Patriotic Military Training* (January and February numbers) are well worth consideration; the example of Switzerland is uppermost in his mind. The *Recollections of Joseph Howe,* by Miss Weaver (January), are interesting, although not of great consequence for comprehension of his character and career. Mr. Goldwin Smith utters a warning on the policy of municipal assistance in providing cheap houses for the working classes in a growing city like Toronto (April). In lighter vein M. Fréchette's articles on *French-Canadian Folklore* (November and December) are charming.

The monthly *La Nouvelle France* (Quebec) has had but one considerable historical article during 1907. Father Morice, the well known missionary, writes a series of papers, *Aux Sources de l'histoire manitobane,* which constitute practically a volume on French effort in the Northwest from the days of La Vérendrye to those of Louis Riel. It is written with knowledge and insight and will no doubt be published in book form. In the *Revue Canadienne* (Montreal) comparatively little attention is paid to history during the year 1907. There is an account by "L. J. C." of the Montagnais Indians of Labrador and Lake St. John. Mr. Sulte writes on the early discoveries in the locality where now stands Ottawa, and the *Mémoires* of Nicholas Gaspard Boisseau are printed for the first time. They relate chiefly to Quebec in the days of Lord Dorchester, and contain a few anecdotes, but nothing of very serious interest. The historian of the period will, however, find it wise to consult them.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

Newfoundland and its untrodden ways. By J. G. Millais. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907. Pp. xvi, 340.

One of the most fascinating books of travel and sport of the year is the volume on Newfoundland by Mr. Millais, who has acquired his familiarity with the country in all its aspects by repeated visits. He is primarily a naturalist, and it is his trained faculties of observation as much as anything that lend a charm to his narrative. Unlike other hunters, he has not emptied his mind when he has related how far off was the caribou when he took aim, how many bullets he put into it before it fell, the exact course of each bullet through the creature's carcase, and how many points there were to the antlers. He tells all this for the delectation of brother sportsmen, but he also makes many shrewd observations on the habits and characteristic actions of his victims that show him to be a lover of nature in a different sense from the average sportsman.

Mr. Millais did not a little exploration in the interior of the island, particularly in the intricate tangle of lakes and streams where the Gander river takes its rise. His first account of his discovery of the source of that river was published in the *Geographical Journal,* and was noticed by us in a former volume of this REVIEW.*

He devotes some space to an account of the Indians of Newfoundland, a comparatively recent colony of Micmacs from Cape Breton. They were said to have been brought over to help exterminate the indigenous Indians, the Beothicks. It does not appear that their number has changed since their introduction in the middle of the eighteenth century. Cormack in 1822 estimated that there were 150 of them, and Mr. Millais reckons that there are about the same number now. The history of the

* Vol. XI, p. 108.

Beothicks, whom the Micmacs have displaced, is somewhat tragic. They were the original Newfoundland Indians, probably of Algonkin stock, and were found there in Cabot's time. The early white visitors to Newfoundland were not of a kind to treat the natives with consideration or even decent fairness, and it is not surprising, therefore, that quarrels arose, resulting in a deep distrust of the white settlers on the part of the Beothicks. The latter maintained to the very end their hostile attitude, retreating sullenly into the interior before the increasing tide of white fishermen along the deeply indented coast, and losing no opportunity of making savage onslaughts upon unprotected settlements. The Europeans were not slow in reprisals, and by the latter half of the eighteenth century the Indian population had been reduced to about one-third of its original number. Then came a change of heart to the Newfoundlanders, and attempts were made to cultivate friendly relations with the Beothicks, even to the extent of kidnapping a woman—after killing her husband, to be sure, when he incautiously tried to effect a rescue. The object, apparently, was to make amicable overtures to the remnant of the tribe by her instrumentality, and in the following year a party was sent to take the woman back to the place where she had been captured. Unfortunately she died *en route*. Her body was left where her people would be likely to find it, and find it they did and buried it in the same dead-house with her husband and child, where it was discovered and identified eighteen years later by Cormack in 1828. It can readily be imagined that this incident did not serve to mitigate the hostility of the Indians. They withdrew still further into the unexplored interior, and their number gradually lessened until they died out altogether. There is a moral in this history. As the author remarks, "English and other Governments always become sentimental and kind-hearted when a race is nearly extinct, since then there is no fear of future political complications."

Much miscellaneous information about the Newfoundlanders and their ways is contained in the volume. The author touches briefly on the uncomfortable practice of "wrecking," which was not finally stamped out until about fifty years ago, not to mention an even more recent date. Judge Prowse has had

personal experience in his judicial career of wrecking cases not easily distinguishable from downright piracy. The islanders' superstitions and prejudices are not more numerous, perhaps, than those of other sea-faring people. It is a pity, however, that they obstinately refuse to believe that such excellent fish as flounders, herring, skate, ling, hake, and halibut are fit for human food; so that in the absence of cod, but in the midst of plenty, they sometimes elect to starve. Another prejudice is perhaps only too common in every country. It is epigrammatically stated by Mr. Millais thus: "The purity of the air of Newfoundland is without doubt due to the fact that the people of the outports never open their windows." Consumption, needless to say, is rife. Mr. Millais is a friendly critic, however, and gives the island people due credit for their sobriety, patience and manly self-control. His guides were never moved to bad language under the most untoward circumstances; indeed they were uncomplaining to excess, as when one of them, after slipping into the icy river, remarked, "This is my lucky day; only been in twice this morning."

Mr. Millais makes some suggestions touching the material improvement of Newfoundland. He thinks that if the right kind of sheep were introduced they would thrive along the fertile coast line. The existing breed is very poor, miserably thin, and carrying an inferior quality of wool. The sheep that thrive in Iceland, Norway and the Hebrides should do equally well in Newfoundland. One of the drawbacks to sheep-raising here, as on the Labrador coast, is the number of half-wild, ownerless dogs that range the country in spring and autumn. Pony-raising might, he thinks, also be profitable, if the right breed were introduced. The mineral resources of Newfoundland are undoubtedly of considerable value, and are as yet hardly touched, owing to the inadequate means of transportation in the interior. In one place Mr. Millais found three outbreaks of petroleum, and chrome iron deposits were encountered later.

A word is due to the illustrations. Mr. Millais has inherited from his famous father not a little artistic ability. His coloured illustrations of birds and mammals are well known to naturalists. This volume contains, besides some beautiful photo-

gravures, a few coloured plates from the author's sketches, of special interest as indicative of the fine colour in Newfoundland scenery to which the author more than once refers.

Perhaps the world is getting a little weary of the Newfoundland question. No sooner have we the French shore question settled than a new issue arises with the United States. Two Blue Books have been published by the British Government dealing with this question.* In these two volumes one may follow the whole course of the dispute, which first became acute in October, 1905. It must be admitted that Mr. Root's dispatches protesting against Newfoundland's legislation affecting American fishermen are peremptory in tone, but there is nothing in the correspondence to show that Great Britain said anything in reply to compromise Newfoundland's rights. To suspend an Act of the Newfoundland legislature was no doubt a high-handed proceeding, but it was accompanied by the specific assurance that the whole question should receive careful and fair enquiry. The correspondence shows that the two governments took hopelessly diverse views on the main issues of the question; the only solution, therefore, was arbitration or war. A satisfactory basis for arbitration having been reached, it seemed as if Sir Robert Bond should have acquiesced. For not doing so he is somewhat sharply rebuked in a dispatch from Lord Elgin—a rebuke, on the whole, well deserved. Sir Robert Bond put his views of his grievance before the Colonial Conference in a lengthy paper, but it was received without comment.

Writing on the Newfoundland question, Mr. H. C. Thomson endorses with some vehemence Newfoundland's attitude of protest against the "modus vivendi."† We cannot withhold our sympathy from Newfoundland in a difficult position. So far as she is concerned the whole situation has changed since the

* *Correspondence respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries. United States. No. 1 (1906)* and *Further correspondence relating to the Newfoundland fishery question.* London: Harrison and Sons, 1906-7. Pp. v, 71; xvi, 190.

† *Newfoundland and the "Modus Vivendi."* By H. C. Thomson. (The National Review, April 1907, pp. 219-231.)

treaty was made; but treaties are treaties, and if undoubted rights are demanded under them these must either be conceded or the treaty must be denounced. Sir Robert Bond asked that the treaty of 1818 be denounced. To denounce it would be to free the United States for a policy of retaliation, and there is no telling where such incidents would end. The only wise solution is arbitration, and it remains to determine the nature of the tribunal so as to secure impartial justice.

Wilmot and Tilley. By James Hannay. Toronto: Morang & Co., Limited, 1907. Pp. xi, 301. (Makers of Canada.)

In writing the biographies of Wilmot and Tilley, Dr. Hannay has thrown light upon the history of New Brunswick during a period of much interest to the student of the growth of political institutions. The reader is impressed by a similarity in the history of three of the original provinces of Confederation, Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in at least three points, (1) the obtaining of self-government, (2) the assertion of religious equality, (3) the establishment of a system of free public education. The lives of Egerton Ryerson, Joseph Howe and Wilmot may be compared from this point of view. The similarity is all the more worthy of note, because the friends of these reforms in the three provinces were not consciously working together.

"The two Canadas," says Dr. Hannay (p. 1), "were so far removed from New Brunswick, and the means of communication were so poor, that there was but little help, even in the way of suggestion, to be expected from them, while the contest for responsible government was being carried on. Even the efforts in the same direction which were being made in the province of Nova Scotia had but little influence on the course of events in New Brunswick, for each province had its own particular interests. Thus it happened that the battle for responsible government in New Brunswick was fought to a large extent without reference to what was being done in the other provinces which now form the Dominion of Canada, and the leaders of the movement had to be guided by the peculiar local circumstances of the situation. Still there is no doubt that the efforts of all the provinces, directed toward the same ends, were mutually helpful, and made the victory more easily won."

As in Upper Canada, so in New Brunswick, social, sectarian and political privileges were cemented together in the

wall which the reformers found it necessary to break down. Great offices were held by members of certain favoured families (p. 8). The Odells, father and son, held the office of Provincial Secretary for sixty years. A judgeship in the Supreme Court was filled by the Chipmans, father and son. The office of surveyor-general, one of much importance, was held for thirty years by a person who was not responsible to any one but the governor. Salaries were high enough to enable the officials to keep up a good deal of state. They and the members of the learned professions formed a caste, from which men like Wilmot's father, who was a Baptist and a man of business, were excluded.

At this time the right to solemnize marriages was confined to clergymen of the Church of England, ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, Quakers, and priests of the Roman Catholic Church. Presbyterians not of the Kirk, Baptists and Methodists were excluded by this arrangement. In 1821 a bill extending the authority to all ministers of the Gospel was passed by the New Brunswick House of Assembly, but rejected by the Council. This performance was repeated several times before 1834, when the discrimination was removed. Another instance of denominational privilege was found in the charter of King's College, Windsor, N.S., which made it an Anglican institution (pp. 49 *et seq.*). No religious test was required of students matriculating or taking a degree in Arts, but the governing body of the college was to be composed of members of the Church of England, who had subscribed to the thirty-nine articles. Upon the authority of Mr. Peters, who was attorney-general of the province in 1845, it is stated that the charter originally drafted and sent to England was more liberal in its provisions than the charter actually granted, and that the latter was a copy of that obtained by Dr. Strachan for King's College in Upper Canada.

During Wilmot's early career in the Legislature he made strong efforts to liberalize the charter. His proposals were moderate. He would have left the institution still Anglican, with a faculty of divinity, and daily services according to the Church of England, but would have opened the governing body to all denominations. The Legislative Assembly passed a bill embody-

ing his views; but it was rejected by the Legislative Council. The college authorities denied that they were under the control of the Legislature, and declared that this body had no right to interfere with a royal charter. The dispute went on from 1838 to 1846, when Wilmot's measure became law (pp. 52 *et seq.*).

Points of resemblance in the educational history of New Brunswick and of Upper Canada frequently appear. In each case there was a somewhat elaborate provision for higher education, while the groundwork was neglected. The New Brunswick Act of 1833, which was considered as marking a long step forward, provided for a provisional grant of twenty pounds for a male teacher and ten for a woman, where the school was kept for a whole year, and half this amount for six months, "provided the inhabitants of the school district had subscribed an equal amount for the support of the teacher, or supplied board, washing and lodging to the teacher in lieu of money." The prospect of board, washing and lodging with twenty pounds in money, proved attractive to some old men with a smattering of learning. The woman teacher would sometimes gather the pupils in her own kitchen (pp. 84, 85). Wilmot, from the day of his entrance into the Legislature, in 1835, worked steadily for the improvement of the system. In 1846, in supporting a measure for the establishment of a normal school, he told a story illustrating the apathy of the people with regard to education. A philanthropist offered to give nails, glass, locks, et cetera, for a school-house, if the people would provide the frame and the boards. They built the frame, but were too lazy to put on the boards, though they could have obtained them free from a neighbouring mill. Even as late as 1852, Wilmot had to plead for education for the children of the poor in remote settlements (p. 90).

Dr. Hannay assigns to Mr. Wilmot the foremost place in the contest for responsible government, from 1835 until 1848, when the victory was won. It was supported and opposed by arguments similar to those used in Upper Canada, but in New Brunswick special emphasis was laid upon the control of the revenues from the customs and from Crown lands. Fees on

Crown lands, before the Legislature obtained control, were excessive. On a tract of three hundred acres there were fees of $47, and on a tract of a thousand acres the fees charged to ten grantees were $200. These substantial grievances gave a practical character to the movement for self-government. Wilmot was attorney-general in the first ministry formed under the new system in 1847. He remained in office only three years, had a seat on the Bench until 1868, and was Lieutenant-Governor of the province from 1868 to 1873.

Wilmot never became identified with the Baptist Church, to which his father belonged. Seeking consolation for the death of his first wife, he was drawn to the Methodist Church and joined the congregation in Fredericton. He filled the office of superintendent of the Sunday-school for twenty-five years, and was the leader of the choir for thirty years. "He vehemently opposed the teachings of Darwin and others who followed the same line of inquiry, and he stoutly maintained that wherever the Bible and science were in conflict, science was in the wrong." He made a hobby of cultivating flowers, and was also an enthusiastic member of the militia, in which he rose to the command of a battalion.

Though Tilley's political career lay in a much later period than Wilmot's, he was only seven years younger. Tilley was born in 1818. At the age of nineteen he became a total abstainer. Thenceforth he threw his whole energy into the movement for prohibition, and this advocacy, that first brought him into public notice, paved the way for his advancement as a public man, and gave him a host of friends. Such a career was more common a century ago than it is to-day. The evils of intemperance were "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." The use of intoxicants, says Dr. Hannay, was generally considered necessary to happiness, if not to existence. Jamaica rum was the standard beverage. It was regarded as an infallible remedy for nearly every ill that flesh is heir to. Large quantities were taken into the woods for the lumbermen, under the belief that it increased their strength for arduous toil. On the farm rum was equally in evidence. At every "house-raising," at every ploughing-match it was lavishly served. The eleven o'clock

dram, the "nip" before dinner, were established customs in respectable society (pp. 177, 178). In reading the history of Upper Canada during the same period we have only to substitute whiskey for rum. The Canada Company once published a pamphlet for the information of settlers, in the form of a dialogue. The question is asked whether beer is supplied to farm labourers in Canada. The answer is that beer is less used than whiskey, which is "a cheap and wholesome beverage."

In 1855 Mr. Tilley introduced a bill forbidding the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants. The third reading was carried by the narrow majority of 21 to 18, a fair warning that the measure was in advance of public opinion. The law was resisted, liquor was sold in defiance of its provisions. In the midst of the conflict and disorder, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. T. Manners Sutton, dissolved the Legislature in defiance of the advice of his Council. His action, which was prompted by his dislike of prohibition, was denounced by the friends of that cause as tyrannical and unconstitutional. But the constitutional objection was drowned by the popular outcry against prohibition. The government of which Mr. Tilley was a member was defeated, and the new Assembly repealed the law by a majority of 38 to 2 (p. 183).

Tilley represented New Brunswick in the conference held at Charlottetown to promote a union of the Maritime Provinces. This plan was merged in the greater one of a federation of British North America, and Tilley became one of the leaders of this movement. Wetmore, an opponent of confederation, used in his speeches to repeat an imaginary dialogue between himself and his little son, "Father, what country do we live in?" "My dear son, you have no country, for Mr. Tilley has sold us to the Canadians for eighty cents a head" (p. 227). In the general election of 1865, only six out of forty-one members of the New Brunswick Legislature were favourable to confederation (p. 231). Among the forces that brought about a reversal of this verdict were pressure exerted by the British Government, and a Fenian raid, which opportunely emphasized the need of union for defence (pp. 239 *et seq.*).

Tilley entered the first Canadian ministry formed after

Confederation, taking the portfolio of Minister of Customs. This ministry was in theory, and perhaps in intention, a coalition. It was composed of seven Conservatives and six Liberals. Tilley was in the Liberal contingent, but a later generation knew him as a Conservative. The ministry gradually lost its character of a coalition, and became Conservative. This was due to two causes: the dominating personal influence of Sir John Macdonald and the hostility of George Brown and the Ontario Reformers toward the combination. The federation of Canada, which was the grand aim of the coalition, having been achieved, partyism resumed its sway, as it did after the coalition of 1854.

In 1873 Tilley succeeded Sir Francis Hincks as Minister of Finance, but he had held the new office only a year when the government was overthrown by the Pacific scandal. Dr. Hannay observes that Mr. Tilley's reputation is clear of any suspicion of corruption. Before the resignation of the government he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, and in this honourable retirement he remained while his party was in opposition. When Sir John Macdonald returned to power in 1878 he made Tilley Minister of Finance. This was now a post of importance, because the Conservative victory had been won upon protection, the National Policy as it was called. It fell to the lot of Sir Leonard Tilley (he was knighted in 1879) to make the budget speech announcing the new protective tariff, and the six following budgets. In 1885 he was again appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, and held this post until his death, which occurred on June 25, 1896, two days after the defeat of the Conservative party in the Dominion elections. His face, as shown in the portrait, shows benignity, an even temper and a well balanced mind; and one is not surprised to learn that his political career was free from scandals and from personal quarrels.

Dr. Hannay has written an interesting book in a clear and unaffected style, and has avoided the error of painting his subjects in heroic proportions. The old-fashioned word "worthies" would perhaps best convey the impression that he leaves of Wilmot and Tilley.

Additions and Corrections to Monographs on the Place-nomenclature, Cartography, Historic Sites, Boundaries and Settlement-origins of the Province of New Brunswick. (With maps.) By W. F. Ganong. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, volume xii, part 1, section ii, pp. 3-157.)

This final contribution to the History of New Brunswick series, number seven, is rendered necessary, the author informs us, by the collection of new material from his own researches and additional information from correspondents. A title-page, preface and table of contents to the entire series is added at the end of the paper. In definitely closing the series Mr. Ganong states his intention of publishing additional data only in local publications.

While the contributions under review are necessarily fragmentary and disconnected, it may be said of them in a general way that they give further proof of the author's genius for elaboration, and his desire to make his work perfect and more acceptable to fellow-students. He says:

"I thoroughly believe that in local history it is the archæological phases which are of greatest interest to the most people, and that these form the best links to connect the intangible past with the visible present. Our local historians would be wise did they make more use of them."

Nothing more clearly shows Mr. Ganong's habit of research and his impartial and judicial spirit than his inquiries into place-nomenclature. The subject has been to him a fascinating and absorbing problem, "a study in psychological philology," which he has pursued steadily and persistently. No jot or tittle of evidence is to him unimportant and the patience with which he has received and sifted conflicting and often absurd testimony excites our admiration. Nothing, however, is finally accepted without careful and impartial weighing of the facts. Whether this evidence partakes of the nature of a jest or is of sufficient gravity to warrant consideration he listens to it earnestly. While he is a diligent collector of waifs from newspapers, he takes us into his confidence sufficiently to observe that "all humanity has a reverence for that which is in print and attributes to a printed statement an authority it only rarely

merits." Again, after reciting some absurd local explanations of place-names and that they are wholly believed by some people, he adds,—

> "Man has some little desire for explanations of odd things, but only to such an extent that any plausible explanation is sufficient. It is but rarely that the desire is strong enough to seek not only an explanation but proof of its correctness, a psychological peculiarity by no means confined to matters of place-nomenclature."

Thus it may be seen that while Mr. Ganong is pursuing his investigations in place-nomenclature he is making additions to the literature of psychology.

Number seven, beginning the third volume of the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*,* is edited by Dr. W. O. Raymond. It contains a continuation of the series of "Historical-geographical Documents relating to New Brunswick" begun in volume ii of the Collections, and edited by Professor W. F. Ganong. These are copies of land grants, deeds, etc., in connection with the efforts of Richard Denys, son of Nicholas Denys, to settle the north shore district of New Brunswick, more than two centuries ago, and they throw much new light on a little known period of provincial history. In a brief but interesting sketch, "In the Days of the Pioneers," the Reverend W. C. Gaynor apparently justifies the assertion that the New Brunswick history of early English settlement is devoid of exciting incidents, such as those which characterized the earlier history of frontier settlements of the United States, but narrates the lure and capture of a band of Micmac Indians on board the captured United States privateer *Lafayette* as not devoid of sensational incidents. Col. J. R. Armstrong, the president of the Society, gives the history and *personnel* of the first social club of St. John, N.B., a hundred years ago, and the editor contributes an interesting memoir of the career of that adventurous loyalist, Benjamin Marston, with many characteristic extracts from his diary.

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* *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society.* Volume iii, number 1. St. John, N.B., 1906. Pp. 112.

The publication of the series of papers on the "Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times," begun in the January, 1905, number of *Acadiensis*,* was completed in the number for November, 1907. To the production of this important work three editors have devoted their efforts,—the late Mr. J. W. Lawrence, the late Dr. A. A. Stockton, M.P., and Dr. W. O. Raymond, F.R.S.C. The separate volume, shortly to be issued, will show how well this work has been done, though lacking that unity which is the result of a single directing hand. The important part taken by the publisher of *Acadiensis* in bringing about the issue of this long-delayed and valuable historical work will not result, we trust, in financial sacrifice. The appearance and contents of *Acadiensis* during the past year have been steadily improving, making this valuable periodical unique among the publications of Canada. Professor W. F. Ganong has continued his series of papers on the north shore settlements of New Brunswick. During the year there have appeared instalments, accompanied by maps and photographs, giving the history of Pokemouche, Caraquet, and Tabusintac. These articles emphasize the steady aim which Mr. Ganong has in view,—to rescue and preserve, before it is too late, facts concerning the origin, history and geography of settlements in New Brunswick and to stimulate in others a similar spirit of inquiry.

In the almost innumerable array of controversial papers that have appeared on the vexed question of the exile of the Acadians, the latest but not the least is that by Professor Archibald MacMechan,† of Dalhousie University, whose long residence and study of authorities in Nova Scotia give him peculiar facilities for dealing with facts bearing on this subject. While making out a strong case for the historical or British view, he realizes that "the clearest demonstration of sober, lazy-pacing history can never oust a pleasing fiction from the

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* *Acadiensis:* A Quarterly devoted to the Interests of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Edited by David Russell Jack. Volume vii, numbers 1-4. St. John, 1907.

† *Evangeline and the Real Acadians.* By Archibald MacMechan. (The Atlantic Monthly, Boston, January, 1907.)

popular belief." Sixty years of *Evangeline,* "the best known poem ever written in America," its popularity with all classes, sympathy for an innocent people cruelly deported, the thriving tourist trade that it has fostered, make it difficult for the truth to reach the popular ear. As *Evangeline* was a product of New England, so New England, Mr. MacMechan thinks, must share the responsibility of the deportation. It was a New Englander that originated the idea of the removal and also the idea of collecting the Acadians at Grand Pré, and providing ships for their removal; and it was a defensive measure for New England and all the other British colonies in America as well as for Nova Scotia. The "real Acadians" were the mere tools of French policy; and that policy was to drive the English from the country at any cost. French emissaries continually taught that "British authority would mean loss of their priests, loss of their sacraments, loss of salvation." In the end they were to be ground between the upper and the nether millstone. "The [deportation] measure was precautionary, like cutting down trees and levelling houses outside a fort that expects a siege, to afford the coming foe no shelter, and to give the garrison a clear field of fire."

(2) The Province of Quebec

Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu. Par l'Abbé J. B. A. Allaire. Saint-Hyacinthe, 1905. Pp. 539.

Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Joseph de Carleton (Baie des Chaleurs), 1755-1906. Par l'Abbé E. P. Chouinard. Rimouski, 1906. Pp. 112.

Notes sur la paroisse de Saint-Clet, comté de Soulanges. Par l'Abbé A. C. Dugas. (Le Paroissien, Déc., 1906.)

Joliette. Par l'Abbé A. C. Dugas. (Revue Ecclésiastique de Valleyfield, 1904.)

The parish of Saint-Denis, in the county of Saint-Hyacinthe, is situated on the right bank of the river Richelieu, nineteen miles from its mouth. This parish has 1,963 inhabitants, all cultivating the land, and living comfortably in a plain rich in alluvial soil carefully tilled. All are French-Canadians and Roman Catholics.

It is a prevalent idea that the beautiful Richelieu valley was originally taken up by half-pay soldiers liberated by the disbanding of the Carignan regiment; but such was not the case. If we except Sorel and Saint-Ours, which were organized as early as 1670 by the officers bearing these names, and Saint-Louis de Chambly, which was originally a military post established in 1706, the other parishes, such as Saint-Roch, Saint-Denis, Saint-Antoine, Saint-Charles and Saint-Joseph de Chambly, date only from some thirty years before the conquest of the country. Saint-Hilaire de Rouville and Belœil are of even later origin, since they date only from 1772 and 1779. The fact is that the Carignan soldiers established themselves along the St. Lawrence, and it was not till the seigniories of that valley had been peopled that the colonists began to make their way into the interior, along the streams tributary to the great river.

The territory in which Saint-Denis now stands, although assigned, in 1694, by the king of France to Louis de Gannes, Sieur de Falaise, did not begin to be cleared till 1720, and it was at that time that it received the name which it still bears in honour of Barbe Denis, wife of its first seignior. In 1713

Gannes gave up this domain in favour of Jacques le Picart, Sieur de Noray et de Dumesnil. The heirs of the latter sold it in their turn, in 1736, to Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecœur, grandson of Barbe Denis, who held it till his death, which occurred in 1775.

This is the same Contrecœur who, in 1754, on the river Ohio, built Fort Duquesne, now known as Pittsburg. And it is he who may be named the real founder of Saint-Denis, for under his administration of some forty years the population, which numbered fifteen families in 1736, had risen to a hundred and sixty in 1775. In the old *presbytère* of Saint-Denis there is still preserved the cross of St. Louis which was awarded to this distinguished officer.

M. de Contrecœur leaving no male descendants, the seigniory of Saint-Denis passed, by his two daughters, to the Boucher de la Perrière and the Boucher de Montarville families. From these, once more by the daughters, it descended to the Taschereaus and the Deschambaults; and, finally, the heirs of this last family, who were the owners of the seigniory when feudal tenure was abolished in 1854, sold it in 1877 to a physician of Saint-Hyacinthe, Dr. Mignault.

Apart from the members of the Deschambault family, who came to live at Saint-Denis about 1824, and who are all buried there, the other seigniors resided at Montreal or Boucherville, and administered their domain from a distance. There consequently did not exist at Saint-Denis a real manor-house, a real *moulin banal,* with *censitaires* who came to do homage and to pay each autumn the *cens* or seigniorial dues, as we find in the other old parishes of the province of Quebec; and the history of this community thus loses a little of its charm. Neither do we find in the original population of Saint-Denis colonists who had come directly from France with the great emigration organized by Colbert and Talon. All the inhabitants who settled there came from the overflow of the older parishes, already long established on the banks of the great river. This population was increased in 1767 by the arrival of a band of Acadians composed of some fifteen families, several of whose descendants have been men of distinction. Among these families we find the names Girouard, Bourdages, Thibaudeau, Mignault, Leblanc, and Richard.

The author has made careful search regarding the origin of those persons who settled in Saint-Denis; every thirty years he notes the new additions from outside, and he traces their descendants, informing us what has become of them. We learn, for instance, that Pierre Ménard, who was the first governor of the State of Illinois and died in Kaskaskia in 1844, and to whose memory his fellow-citizens erected a statue in the capitol of the the State, was a native of Saint-Denis, and the son of an old French soldier settled there immediately after the conquest.

The people of this parish valued education. As early as 1782 they founded a convent for their daughters, and in 1804 a classical college for their sons. From these institutions have proceeded nearly a hundred nuns and numerous priests. The author takes pleasure in sketching their biographies, and the history of the institutions organized by them. He adds also the story in detail of all the *curés* who have succeeded each other in the parish, and relates when and how the churches were built. The church now existing is a hundred and twenty years old, for its foundation was laid in 1788. It is not remarkable for anything but its age and the fact that the interior is decorated with six valuable old paintings brought to Canada from churches in France which were plundered during the Revolution.

Favoured by its excellent situation at the head of a very safe bay formed by the river Richelieu, Saint-Denis was, in former days, the centre to which all the grain produced by this fertile valley found its way. This produce was accumulated in the storehouses, from which it was then shipped in barges to Quebec and Montreal. In 1834 we even find three steamers plying to and fro between Chambly and Saint-Denis. It was about this date that various industries were established here, among others a hat factory, a pottery, a manufactory of antique clocks, and a distillery which was set up by Dr. Wolfred Nelson, and in which payment was made in paper-money. These bank-notes are much sought after nowadays by numismatists, as are also by others the old wooden Saint-Denis clocks.

When, in 1848, a lock was constructed at Saint-Ours, to raise the level of the river Richelieu, and when the Chambly and Whitehall Canals were opened to bring New York into direct

water communication with the St. Lawrence, it seemed as if Saint-Denis should have profited by the improvement; but the railways soon arrived to change the highways of commerce, and instead of Saint-Denis it was Saint-Hyacinthe which reaped the advantages. Still other causes have contributed to reduce the former importance of Saint-Denis. At the beginning of last century it was the place of residence of Louis Bourdages, who, while exercising his profession of notary, continued for more than thirty years to represent in Parliament the valley of the Richelieu. Down to 1835, the date of his death, this popular agitator, the adversary of authority as represented by Craig and Prevost, had fomented in this district sentiments of hostility to the Government; and he had many followers. Here also resided the celebrated Dr. Wolfred Nelson, and several members of the Cherrier family, connected with Papineau, and often visited by him. It was at Saint-Denis that the great popular indignation meetings were held which preceded the insurrection of 1837-8. When the revolt came, Saint-Denis was consequently a territory quite prepared to offer armed resistance, and it was here that, on the 22nd of November, 1837, the "patriots" repulsed the troops of Colonel Gore—a momentary success which was soon after followed by the engagement at Saint-Charles, in the neighbouring parish.

The author of the book has devoted five chapters to these events, and they form the most important part of his work, for they concern the general history of the country. He has had access to the unpublished correspondence exchanged between Bishop Lartigue and the *curés* of Saint-Denis, he has gathered traditions, he has questioned eye-witnesses. Consequently, he introduces a large number of new facts about men and things, and details which cannot be found elsewhere. We learn how the people were dragged into this mad rebellion. Those who desired to offer resistance to the troops were only some thirty in number, the rest were driven to side with them by fear and threats. We are told how the principal leaders seized the money of the church, which was afterwards found in the ruins of Nelson's house. We are shown the march of Gore's column from Sorel to Saint-Denis over almost impassable roads, the attack

on the village, the entrenchments raised in haste, the combat, the retreat, the dead and wounded. Then follow the fight at Saint-Charles, the rout of the "patriots," the arrests, the vengeance. Saint-Denis was burned, devastated, plundered, and only with great difficulty succeeded in rising again from its ruins. It is worthy of note that in this old centre of insurrection it is now imprudent to mention the exploits of the "patriots" of 1837-8. The descendants of the combatants have become extreme friends of order, reactionaries.

Who to-day, looking at this peaceful village on the bank of the river, with its little white houses hidden under the great trees and clustered round the old church, would think that this beautiful idyllic landscape was the scene of such sanguinary events? Who would think that all these peasants, fond of good order, diligent in their work, scarcely cognizant of other horizons than those of their fields, are the grandsons of the rebels of 1837? M. Allaire's book adds valuable pages to a history which has never yet been properly explored. He makes no pretensions to style; he is content to write in clear and simple language, without ornament and easily understood by the people. If we were to search for faults, we might mention his occasional excess of precision in specifying the nature of the malady from which people have died (e.g., p. 287). These are details better left for medical or surgical treatises. The work is conscientious. It is evident that the author has taken much pains in order to find the best sources of information. He has not been afraid of manuscript documents; he cites these or indicates them in notes. The history is therefore a useful one, containing new and curious details, and certain chapters which ought to be read by those seeking to know the organization, the home life, and the evolution of the parochial system in the province of Quebec.

There are illustrations—badly done, we must admit; but some of them have value, as illustrating, for instance, the events of 1837. It is regrettable that the author did not know—for he would certainly have reproduced them—the engravings in the Archives at Ottawa, which show the last operations of the military column sent at that date into the valley of the Richelieu. These engravings, four in number, were published in London in

1840, and represent "The passage of the Richelieu during the night of November 22, 1837"; "A ford fortified on the march of Wetherall to Saint-Charles"; "A bivouac of Colonel Wetherall at Saint-Hilaire de Rouville"; and "The attack upon Saint-Charles." There is also with these a plan explaining the operations of Colonel Gore against Saint-Denis. From the point of view of art and history, these prints would have given the final touch to M. Allaire's book.

The matter forming the second work of our heading first appeared in the form of detached articles in local journals: the *Moniteur Acadien,* the *Progrès du Golfe,* and the *Saint-Laurent.* In 1755 seven Acadian families, who had been driven away from Beaubassin, settled on the shores of the Baie de Chaleur at the head of the natural harbour called at that time "Tracadièche" (from a Micmac word meaning "place of many herons"). From this group has grown the parish now known by the name of Saint-Joseph de Carleton, in the county of Bonaventure. While no one is now ignorant of the fact that the Acadians were driven from their homes about Minas Basin, few are aware that the British Governors of Canada took pity on these unhappy people, pointed out to them the possibility of taking up the yet uncultivated lands of the province of Quebec, and facilitated their settlement by every possible means. The uncultivated shores of the Baie de Chaleur received its share of this migration. The first refugees were simply squatters, without titles of any kind; but in 1786 a proclamation was issued from Quebec by Lieutenant-Governor Hope to the effect that the settlers had nothing to fear, and that the Administration would ensure them the undisturbed enjoyment of whatever lands they might clear of forest. Governor Carleton also showed them that they had his sympathy. Hence, when in 1788 the lands of Tracadièche were officially surveyed and divided into two townships, one of these received the name of "Carleton," and the other that of "Maria," the Christian name of the Governor's wife.

But the Abbé Chouinard does not concern himself much with these facts, which are matters of civil history. His special task is to give an account of the lives and labours of the mis-

sionaries who have had the cure of souls in this settlement from the earliest days down to our own time. And he has good reason to write such a history, because Saint-Joseph de Carleton was the first ecclesiastical parish to be organized in this region, it was the place of residence of the first missionaries, and the point from which they served, with admirable zeal, both shores of the great Baie de Chaleur. Certain of these missionaries—for instance, the Acadian Bourg, the learned Abbé Malo, the Abbés Desjardins, La Vaivre, Castonnet and Joyer, who were driven from France by the Revolution, the *curés* Faucher and Painchaud:—these men have still a great reputation among the clergy of the province of Quebec. The author has turned to good account the letters and reports which these missionaries have left behind, and his book will be of great service to whoever, at some later day, in composing the general history of Gaspesia, may devote a portion of his work to the ecclesiastical affairs of this interesting region.

The last two items in our heading are of slight proportions. The first is a mere collection of memoranda, for the purpose of reminding the author's parishioners of the dates and circumstances of the canonical erection and benediction of the church, the names of the *curés,* of the vicars, and of the syndics. Extracts from the registers are also given, showing the names of the persons baptized, married or buried in the parish, in 1851 and in 1906. The last is a reprint of a little article on the town of Joliette, P.Q., published in the *Revue ecclésiastique de Valleyfield,* on the occasion of the creation of the diocese of Joliette, and the appointment of its first bishop, Mgr. Archambault. The author outlines the career of Barthélemi Joliette, founder of the town, and narrates the circumstances of its first settlement.

The Tragedy of Quebec: The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers. By Robert Sellar. Huntingdon, Que.: Printed for the Author, 1907. Pp. viii, 122.

An attractive page in the story of Canadian colonization has been written by Mr. Sellar in *The Tragedy of Quebec.* If there was both romance and tragedy in the founding of Quebec

and of Montreal, Mr. Sellar has shown us that there was picturesqueness at least in the settlement of the Eastern Townships. Mr. Thomas and other local authorities have proved themselves sympathetic biographers of some of the pioneers of south-western Quebec, but no historian has so adequately described the advent, the early toils and struggles and subsequent successes of these original settlers as Mr. Sellar has done. The forest primeval is the first scene presented to our view, and then there appears upon the stage the New England pioneer of the end of the eighteenth century, dissatisfied with the granite hills from which he had just come, and followed, in 1812, by a somewhat motley crowd of his fellow-countrymen, some mere fugitives from justice, a much larger number flying north to escape conscription. There is a charming picture of a newly arrived family of Scotch colonists, and the story of their offering of praise and prayer at the end of the first day's toil in the virgin forest is so naturally and so prettily told that the reader is almost involuntarily reminded of *The Cottar's Saturday Night.*

What the author calls *The Tragedy of Quebec* is explained by his sub-title—*The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers.* Mr. Sellar's purpose in the present book is to prove that "the history of Quebec during the nineteenth century largely consists of attempts, under varied pretenses, to drive them [the Protestant farmers] away;" and that "the beginning of the twentieth sees the fruition of these attempts." Of the remarkable decrease in the number of English-speaking farmers in this province during the last few decades there can be no doubt. Not only is it apparent to every one who is at all conversant with the march of affairs in rural Quebec, but it is fully attested by both the census returns and the municipal valuation rolls. That Mr. Sellar has discovered the cause, however, we may well be permitted to doubt. That his book will prove of any assistance to those whose fate he so sympathetically bewails is, by his own admission, "open to question." It is by no means clear that the Protestant farmers who have left the province of Quebec are to be pitied. Certainly Mr. Sellar has not shown that they are. They were neither despoiled of their lands, nor yet compelled by any act of a hostile majority to dispose of them against their will. Many

of them were no doubt attracted to the North-west by reports of a richer soil, better climate and more favourable farming conditions generally. When these conditions are sufficient to attract an enormous volume of immigration from the best agricultural sections of the western States—certainly crowded out thence by no hostile majority—it is scarcely surprising that they should also successfully appeal to the English-speaking farmers of Quebec; and hence there is no difficulty in accounting for the disappearance of many of these from the lands which they once owned, without the necessity of depicting them as victims of racial and religious persecution. Then, again, the tendency of too many English-speaking Canadians is to gravitate from the country to the town, while the French-Canadian, on the other hand, clings to the soil of the province of Quebec as the tendril to the vine, and the counsel of old Étienne Parent, the father of French-Canadian journalism—"*Emparons-nous du sol*"—is almost as popular a device with his fellow-countrymen to-day as is "*Nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois.*"

Eighteen years ago, when the emigration of Protestant farmers from Quebec to the North-west was at its height, and Mr. Sellar, in the columns of the Huntingdon *Gleaner,* was advancing the same reason for the disappearance of his old-time neighbours and friends as that upon which he has written his recent *Tragedy,* the entire subject was carefully investigated by one of the closest observers and keenest critics in the field of Canadian literature, Dr. S. E. Dawson. Dr. Dawson, whose Protestantism is above suspicion, published a series of letters on the subject in *The Week,* of Toronto, in the course of which he said:

"The Eastern Townships of Quebec were settled by English immigrants from Britain and the United States. As, during recent years, the rich lands of the North-west were opened up, the young people became restless. The proceeds of the sale of a farm will buy ten times as much land in the North-west, believed to be of better quality. The attractions of city life draw the youth to the town, the profits of farming in the east are destroyed by western competition, and so the heads of rising families must move west or be left to manage their farm alone. In this way, a constant movement is going on, an outflow of English and an inflow of French. . . . If the English farmers improve their circumstances by selling out, it is surely better that ready purchasers should be found. It is better than leaving the farms tenantless. The movement is not peculiar to the Eastern Townships of Quebec. In Vermont, New Hampshire and other

New England States, the number of deserted farms lapsing into wilderness is so great as to cause serious alarm."

The Tragedy of Quebec is really much more than it professes to be. It is an arraignment of the entire public policy of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. There are attacks, in turn, upon the policy of the Church in regard to politics, to education, to tithes, to the creation of parishes. In some respects, at least, there is reason to fear that the author has permitted his prejudices to affect his judgment. He would take from the ecclesiastical authorities the credit, which has been so freely accorded them by other Protestant historians, for the part they played in the preservation of Canada to Britain in 1775-6, and stamps as "tiresome and monotonous in their narratives" those *Relations des Jésuites,* with extracts from which Mr. Parkman has enriched many of his most attractive pages. So far as the *habitants* of 1775-6 were concerned, Mr. Sellar is perfectly correct in combating the generally accepted view that their loyalty saved Canada from falling into the hands of the American invaders. Carleton, as Mr. Sellar says, complained bitterly of them in his dispatches to England. An anonymous manuscript journal, in the Canadian Archives—"of the most remarkable events which happened in Canada between the months of July, 1775, and June, 1776"—now in course of publication by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, abounds in similar proofs. Of the loyalty, at the same period, of the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the Canadian seigniors, there cannot possibly, however, be any doubt.

In treating of the priest in politics the author deals only with somewhat ancient history, though he might easily have laid his hands upon original sources of information which would have enabled him to bring it down to date. The undue clerical interference in elections, of which he furnishes such ample proofs, was virtually terminated over thirty years ago. It failed to commend itself to the heads of the Church by whom it was investigated, and was unreservedly condemned, both at Rome and also by the highest law courts of the Empire. Judge Routhier's decision in the Charlevoix contested election case, quoted by Mr. Sellar, to the effect that the courts had no right to take cog-

nizance of anything said by the Roman Catholic clergy from the pulpit, was reversed by the Supreme Court of Canada, which voided the election of Sir Hector Langevin, and held that the Roman Catholic clergy were subject to the laws of the country as other citizens were, and that a priest had no more right to invade the freedom of the electors by intimidation than had any other citizen. One bishop, Mgr. Langevin, of Rimouski, in 1875, actually excommunicated Judge Maguire, and would also have pronounced the same sentence upon Judge Casault, only that the latter belonged to the diocese of Quebec, because of their voiding of the Bonaventure election for undue clerical influence. But it is no secret that Judge Casault enjoyed the approval and the protection of his own bishop, and that Mgr. Langevin was compelled to withdraw his sentence of excommunication against Judge Maguire.

Mr. Sellar refers to the ecclesiastical refusal of the burial of Guibord in his own family lot in consecrated ground, but fails to record the fact that the interment was finally ordered by a judgment of the Privy Council. He quotes the old ultramontane utterances of Bishop Bourget, who is known to have resigned his see in disgust because of the unfavourable reception of his views and actions at Rome, of the Bishop of Birtha, who was never advanced from the position of coadjutor bishop of Montreal; and he quotes from the joint pastoral of the bishops of the ecclesiastical province, of September, 1875, condemning the Liberal party as a whole, and claiming ascendancy of Church over State. But he does not refer at all to the well known sequel. Following the visit of Mgr. Conroy, who was sent by Rome to inquire into the difficulties between members of the Canadian hierarchy, came the joint pastoral of 1877, attributed to the Papal delegate, and signed by all the Roman Catholic bishops of the province, forbidding the active interference of the priests in election contests, except on the order of their bishops. This pastoral has long been public property, and so have others of a similar import, issued from time to time by the late Cardinal Taschereau.

Judging from the ecclesiastical history of Quebec during the last thirty years, it is neither fair to the Roman Catholic Church,

nor is it helpful to the upbuilding of a common Canadian nationality, to leave it to be implied that the political attitude of several of the prominent members of that Church in 1875 either represented the views of the best ecclesiastical authorities of the period, or would be tolerated to-day.

E. T. D. CHAMBERS

The Missisquoi Historical Society* is one of the few local historical societies in the province of Quebec and is doing excellent work. In connection with the word Missisquoi, Mr. Noyes proves that it is derived from the Abenaki language (however unlike it now), and that its meaning is "the place where musket-flints are found." It was at Philipsburg, on the shores of Missisquoi Bay, that in 1759 Rogers and his Rangers landed to undertake the destruction of the Abenaki villages situated on the river St. Francis. It was to Clarenceville and Saint-Armand that in 1783 some American colonists went from the State of New York, to which their ancestors in turn had come from the Palatinate. It is known that several of these American Germans emigrated to Ontario, and it would be curious to know if any connection has been kept up between the two groups. The origin of other settlements is admirably told in the Report.

When the delimitation of the boundary between the United States and that part of Canada now known as the Province of Quebec was attempted at the watershed which divides the rivers flowing into the Atlantic from those which flow into the St. Lawrence, it was impossible to come to an understanding regarding the position of "the most north-westerly source of the Connecticut river," and for nearly sixty years there were disputed stretches of territory between Quebec and New Hampshire. One of these strips† happened to be situated in the network of little streams which give rise to the Connecticut river, on the banks of the Indian Stream, in a mountainous country intersected by fer-

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* *Second report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society.* Bedford, 1907. Pp. 60.

† *La République d'Indian Stream.* Par F. J. Audet. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, vol. xii, sect. i, pp. 119-127.)

tile valleys. Smugglers and squatters took advantage of this state of things to make the spot a place of refuge. In 1835 there were sixty-nine families, comprising 414 inhabitants, with 1,500 acres under cultivation. For the administration of this community there was elected a council of five members, which decreed that this corner of land should form an independent state, exercising sovereign functions under the name of the "Republic of Indian Stream." In 1835 Judge Fletcher, of Sherbrooke, called the attention of Lord Aylmer to this international establishment, and the latter applied to the Imperial authorities. It was, however, only in 1842, at the time of the Ashburton Treaty, that the territory of Indian Stream passed over legally to the United States, and formed part of the county of Coos, in the State of New Hampshire. M. Audet relates the origin and premature end of this little independent state.

L'Habitation de Samos. Par P.-B. Casgrain. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, Volume xii, section i, pp. 3-35.)

Those who have closely studied the details of the fateful action of the 13th September, 1759, on the Plains of Abraham, and of the daring achievements that preceded the main clash of arms upon the heights of Quebec, do not need to be told of the important part played in the preliminary skirmishing of the day by the four-gun battery at Samos. The exact location of this battery has been the subject of considerable discussion. Hawkins, in his *New Pictures of Quebec with Historical Recollections* (1834)—or rather Dr. J. Charlton Fisher, who furnished Hawkins with most of the letter-press of the book—fell into an error which strangely misled the many subsequent writers, who blindly followed all the details of his story of the battle. One of Wolfe's first acts upon gaining the summit of the cliff was to send Colonel, afterwards General, Murray to silence and capture the battery on the English left, which had been firing on the boats containing four detachments of his army. Dr. Fisher made the remarkable statement that the remains of this battery were in his time distinctly visible near

the present race-stand. This situation would place the battery well in front, instead of to the left of the British position, at the time that Wolfe ordered it to be taken, and Mr. Casgrain's researches have led him to locate Samos in pretty much the same position as Dr. Doughty has given it in his *Siege of Quebec,* namely "several hundred feet west of Vergor's post" (which post commanded the pass by which the British scaled the cliff), "in the direction of Sillery." Contemporary plans, of which many are now in the custody of the Archives at Ottawa, leave no doubt as to the exact location of Samos, and conclusively prove that the ruins described in Hawkins were those of works erected by the English after the battle of the 13th September. Prior to that date there were no French works on the Plains, except the battery which had fired upon the second division of the English boats, from the left or west of the landing place, in the direction of Sillery. Mr. Casgrain is inclined to place the four-gun battery beyond the former villa of Samos and close to Mount Hermon cemetery.

Apart from settling the exact position of Samos, Mr. Casgrain, who has consulted a number of original title-deeds in his researches, has a history of the property, and interesting sketches of the different hands through which it has passed. The Samos estate took its name from the fact that it became the residence in 1732 of Mgr. Dosquet, bishop of Samos and coadjutor bishop of Quebec. The property was sold in 1762 by the Quebec Seminary to Mr. Thomas Ainslie, first collector of customs at Quebec. Mr. Casgrain gives a copy of the deed of sale to Mr. Ainslie, which is extremely interesting as showing that for some time after the capitulation of Quebec the French-Canadians did not despair of the return of Canada to France. Ainslie was not to hand over the price of the property until the establishment of peace in the country. If Canada was returned to France the sale was to be void, but if, on the other hand, it was secured to the British, the sale was then to be consummated by the payment of the price by Ainslie. This Ainslie was a captain in the English militia during the siege of Quebec by Montgomery and Arnold in 1775, and kept a journal of the principal events of the siege, which was published in 1905 by

the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. All who pass by the Quebec Basilica may see from Buade street a marble slab inserted in the outer wall of the church bearing the names of Thomas Ainslie and of Mary, his wife, interred there in March, 1767, in the old Catholic cemetery of the church, which (for want of another) was also used as a burial-place by the Protestants of Quebec at that time. It was just at this time that Protestant services were permitted to be held in the Récollet church; so the Catholics and Protestants used the same church during life and the same cemetery for interments. It is not uninteresting to note that Samos, later called Woodfield, upon which Judge Mabane erected a beautiful dwelling, was leased for the occupancy of Bishop Mountain, the first Anglican bishop of Quebec, upon his arrival in Canada.

Mr. Casgrain renders full justice to Montcalm for the precautions he had taken to prevent a surprise from Wolfe and his army, and lays upon Vaudreuil full responsibility for the result of his actions in replacing the brave Saint-Martin by Vergor at the Foulon, and in delaying the execution of Montcalm's order for the posting of the fine regiment of La Guienne on the heights. The Governor's interference in these two respects may well have cost Quebec to the French. Scarcely more than the turn of a hair, says Mr. Casgrain, was required, in order to cause the failure of the attack. Yet it must not for a moment be supposed that Wolfe had left all these things to chance. Had Vergor not replaced Saint-Martin at the summit of the pass up the face of the cliff, and had the Guienne regiment followed Montcalm's orders, Wolfe's plans would undoubtedly have been changed. He was well aware of the careless manner in which Vergor's post was maintained, and Dr. Doughty has shown that he must have known from the latest deserters to his camp that the regiment of Guienne had not taken up its position on the heights.

There is no doubt that Mr. Casgrain voices the sentiment of the vast majority of Canadians of French origin when he declares, in the concluding paragraph of his very thoughtful paper, that "We, Canadians, descendants of the glorious vanquished of those days, who bow before the decrees of the

Almighty God of arms, Who holds in His hands the destinies of nations, have only to thank Divine Providence, Who by means quite unperceived at the time, caused our removal from a desperate position, to pass, for our greater good, under English domination, and has finally assured to us a noble liberty; thus saving us, at the same time, from the misfortunes and disasters which have overwhelmed France for more than a century past."

E. T. D. CHAMBERS

It is gratifying to see that a new edition of Dr. James Douglas's *Quebec in the Seventeenth Century** has been called for. There are some new illustrations and a supplementary chapter on Canadian history from the close of the 17th century to the British Conquest. In appearance and substance the volume is extremely creditable to its author.

La première famille française au Canada, ses alliés et ses descendants. Par l'Abbé Azarie Couillard-Després. Montreal, 1907. Pp. 359.

Une branche de la famille Amyot Larpinière. Par l'Abbé Benjamin Demers. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 32.

Genealogy of the families of the Island of Orleans. By M. l'Abbé Michel Forgues. (Report concerning Canadian Archives, 1905, vol. ii, app. A, pt. ii, pp. 1-360.)

Genealogy of the families of La Beauce, P.Q. By M. l'Abbé Charles Beaumont. (Report concerning Canadian Archives, 1905, vol. i, pt. ix, pp. 1-262.)

It is well known that Louis Hébert, a Parisian apothecary, was the first man to settle on the heights of Quebec, to cultivate the land and rear a family. Champlain had known him at Port-Royal, and brought him with him when he decided to colonize the valley of the lower St. Lawrence. Hébert died

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* *Old France in the New World. Quebec in the Seventeenth Century.* By James Douglas. 2nd edition. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1906. Pp. 597.

without male descendants; but one of his daughters, Guillemette, married Guillaume Couillard, the carpenter so often and so favourably mentioned by Champlain. Couillard left two sons, Louis Couillard de Lespinay, who founded Saint-Thomas de Montmagny, and Charles Couillard des Islets, who founded Beaumont—two flourishing parishes in the neighbourhood of Quebec. The daughters married into the Guyon, Bissot de la Rivière, and Nicolet families. There are few families in Quebec which do not claim as ancestors some of the Héberts and Couillards; and these two names hold as proud a place there as do those of the "Mayflower" passengers in New England.

The Abbé Couillard is descended from Guillaume Couillard, and is naturally proud of the fact. He has accordingly gathered into a volume all that he can find about his ancestors. But there was no reason why he should drag in all the details of the foundation of Port-Royal and Quebec and of the early days of the colony, particularly as he has no new information to impart. His book therefore contains much tedious matter. Being a novice in writing, he has not learned self-restraint, and his quotations are too copious. It is a common fault among the writers of local or family histories to believe that the whole country is centred about the spot of which they treat. A frame for the personages is needed, to be sure, but it must not become so prominent as to hide the figures. This book of 359 pages would have been more interesting if reduced to 100. The author, too slightly acquainted with large historical questions, often falls into errors which are quite obvious. The fantastic portraits given of Guillaume and Louis Couillard are very transparent deceptions in picture-making. The author tells us further that Guillaume was ennobled in 1654. Nothing is less certain. It is true that the Company of One Hundred Associates had this power, but it was very rarely made use of. On page 283 the author gives us the letters of nobility of Louis Couillard. It is true that in 1667 Talon asked for them on his behalf, but they arrived in blank and, for one reason or another, they were never filled out while Couillard lived. The Récollet Father Sixte le Tac, who knew the Couillard family well, relates all this in his *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle-*

France, but the author is not aware of it. In 1679 Charles Couillard presented these letters to the Conseil Supérieur at Quebec, but they were never registered. In the absence of this formality there could have been no legally recognized nobility. However, it has always been a tradition at Quebec that the Couillard family was ennobled. It must, indeed, be said, in all sincerity, that the family deserved this mark of dignity, both for the services which it rendered, and the long line of distinguished men which it produced.

The Abbé Demers gives us the genealogy of a family, originally from Chartres, France, which came to Canada about 1636. At first sight, these genealogical studies appear to have little value except for the families interested. It is, however, quite certain that they will serve later for the history of the development of the French race in Canada. An analysis of them would be fastidious at present, but their appearance is worth noting. The Amyot family, like many more, was first occupied in cultivating the land. Then, as the race is prolific, the third generation scattered its numerous children about in every direction. Some of them settled in new parishes; others migrated to the United States. Very few of the latter returned, and, unlike those who remained at home, they married women of a foreign race. After thirty years such people are lost to Canada, and have ceased to keep up any connection with their old home. On the ancestral territory, however, there remains a substantial nucleus, a nursery of vigorous plants, characteristic of the soil. In the present family, by a rare exception, one of the descendants, after having obtained his training in American manufactories, came back, settled at Quebec and made his fortune. It is in connection with him that the genealogy has been written—an instructive story and one which makes us regret that so many others have remained on the south side of the line.

In the last report on the Archives of Canada (volume ii, Separate Appendix 2) we find a genealogy of the families of the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, compiled from notes left by the Abbé Michel Forgues. Many may ask what purpose is served by the publication of these long lists bristling with dates.

But the Island of Orleans, composed of seven parishes, was peopled in the earliest times of the French occupation, and from it have proceeded the majority of the inhabitants that colonized the old Government of Quebec. The importance therefore of such a work, which has remained until now in manuscript, accessible to few, becomes quite evident. The Abbé Forgues does not state, as is done by Tanguay, the French provinces from which the colonists originally came; but by the aid of his very exact indications, it is easy to consult the originals themselves. Publications of this kind cannot be undertaken by a private individual, and Dr. Doughty, the Archivist, has very fortunately decided to bear the expense in his official report. These valuable notes might easily have been destroyed by a fire, which would have been an irreparable loss. In the same report of the Archives (volume i, part ix) there is also given a genealogy of the families of Beauce, prepared by the Abbé Charles Beaumont. Although Beauce was peopled only some twenty years before the conquest of Canada, the remarks which we have just made are equally applicable to the minute and patient researches of the Abbé Beaumont.

From My Quebec Scrap-Book. By G. M. Fairchild, Jr. Quebec: Frank Carrel, 1907. Pp. 316.

Mr. Fairchild has selected a good title for the curious medley of scrappy literature worked up into his latest book. The volume is both local and miscellaneous. The reader is warned in the author's foreword not to expect any fresh historical data in his book, notwithstanding which, and after the manner of better known Quebec writers, whose more or less fragmentary work has been crowned with honours and renown, Mr. Fairchild, without any large amount of original investigation, has recalled many incidents of the past that Canadians would not willingly forget. There is, for instance, a brief sketch of the early history of Cap Rouge, the pretty Canadian village now being disfigured by enormous railway viaducts, and which, more than sixty years before the founding of Quebec, was the proposed centre of French colonization in the New

World. The tourist in Quebec and the casual reader will not have followed in vain what little Mr. Fairchild has to say of the dramatic scenes that marked the early history of Cap Rouge, if the reading leads them to profit by the deeper researches into the same subject of the Abbé Scott, the result of which may be found in his *Histoire de Notre Dame de Ste. Foy,* of which parish Cap Rouge formed part, up to about the middle of the last century. It was not on the night of the 13th September, 1759, but on the early morning of that day that Admiral Holmes deceived Bougainville by the movements of his ships as to the intentions of Wolfe's landing party, and Mr. Fairchild is also incorrect in supposing that it was at Cap Rouge that the English admiral held his vessels to engage the attention of the brilliant French officer. His fleet only remained opposite Cap Rouge until the first landing party had taken to their boats on the farther side of the ships, when a number of the latter moved slowly up the river as far as Pointe aux Trembles, eagerly followed on shore, in accordance with his instructions, by Bougainville, who was thus decoyed many miles away from the scene of the coming action.

The chapter on *Christmas one hundred years ago* contains an interesting *résumé* of the contents of the local newspapers of the period, but not a word as to the festival itself. "If there was a midnight mass at the Basilica," says Mr. Fairchild, "no mention is made of it." This is quite true, but it is necessary to investigate more authentic and more original sources of information than the newspapers of a hundred years ago for our facts. Even local intelligence, as Mr. Fairchild himself points out, was sadly neglected by the press in those days. Inquiry at the presbytery of the Basilica, for instance, would have definitely shown that there was no midnight mass there on Christmas, 1806. The unruly conduct of a number of bad boys, who on the preceding Christmas celebration of the mass had played a number of pranks in church, such as pouring ink in the holy water receptacles, is said to have caused the authorities to suspend the service on this occasion. Rather more than local interest attaches to a couple of notices reprinted from the Quebec *Gazette* of December 25th, 1806. One announces the

offer by government of a bounty of £43 sterling per ton upon the growing of hemp. The other is the announcement of a comedy to be played in the Quebec theatre by the officers of the garrison, entitled "Love Laughs at Locksmiths," for the relief of the Convent of the Ursulines, lately burned at Three Rivers.

There is a brief but picturesque chapter on *The Fur Trade of Quebec,* in which Mr. Fairchild, who possesses a rare collection of Canadiana, introduces from *The Journal of the Late Actions of the French in Canada* (Bayard and Ludovick, 1693) a passage from the evidence of one André Casparus, an escaped prisoner, taken before Governor Fletcher at New York.

> "The said André says he saw a prodigious quantity of beavers at Ottawawa; an inhabitant of Canada called Jacques de Taille told him he had 3,000 beavers of his own there and that there were as many beavers now in Ottawawa as would load 200 canows, and each canow generally hold from nine to ten hundred beavers."

The curious old French-Canadian Christmas custom of L'Ignolée, recently revived at Quebec, is fully described, but Sir James M. LeMoine, in English, and the late Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, the late Mr. J. C. Taché and Mr. Ernest Gagnon in French, have already familiarized Canadian readers with its supposed Druidical origin and with the quaint songs connected with the custom in olden times. Mr. Fairchild reminds us, in a chapter which reads much like an advertising notice of a local brewery, that the manufacture of beer was one of the very first industries established in Canada, the Intendant Talon having built a brewery at the Palais in 1672.

The many personal notices of artist friends of the author, who have painted Canadian scenery in and about Quebec in recent years, scarcely call for reference here, though many of the admirers of the rare canvasses of Krieghoff, the deservedly famous painter of *habitant* scenes and manners and of Canada's brilliant autumnal scenery, who was in his prime in Quebec half a century ago, will be glad to have the sketch of his life found here. While the binding of the book is not at all up to the standard of the printing, *From My Quebec Scrap-Book* is a very creditable bit of Quebec book-making.

E. T. D. CHAMBERS

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(3) The Province of Ontario

Mr. Peter A. Porter, who has long made the Niagara district his special study, writes an interesting little account of Niagara as a centre of Indian trade.* It was this naturally, owing to its position on the "portage" from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The Indians assembled here annually before the Europeans came, and had developed their own superstitions in regard to the mighty cataract. Mr. Porter engages in some interesting inquiries regarding the first white visitors, and the first published narratives of visits to the Falls. He reproduces Hennepin's, Kalm's, and other early pictures of Niagara.

Colonel Cruikshank writes an excellent popular sketch of the history of Niagara-on-the-Lake,† which has been published with copious illustrations of the modern camp at Niagara. There is a good description of the taking of Fort George in 1813 by the Americans.

Miss Carnochan's agreeable sketch‡ of Sir Isaac Brock was originally read before the York Pioneers, and is based on well known secondary authorities. Her paper on the Count de Puisaye is reprinted from the fifth volume of the "Papers and Records" of the Ontario Historical Society, and was noticed by us in our last year's volume. A portrait and biographical notice of William Kirby, the author of "Le Chien d'Or," are appended.

The two handsomely bound quarto volumes§ of biographies

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* *Niagara, An aboriginal Centre of Trade.* By Peter A. Porter. Niagara Falls, 1906. Pp. 74.

† *Camp Niagara. With a historical Sketch of Niagara-on-the-Lake and Niagara Camp.* By Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank. Niagara Falls [1907].

‡ *Niagara Historical Society's Publications, No. 15: Sir Isaac Brock, The Count de Puisaye.* By Janet Carnochan. Niagara, 1907. Pp. 40.

§ *Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of Lambton, Ontario.* Compiled by J. H. Beers and Co., Toronto. Containing biographical sketches of prominent and representative citizens and many of the early settled families. Illustrated. [Toronto] 1906. Pp. viii, 840.

Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, Ontario. Containing biographical sketches of prominent and representative citizens and many of the early settled families. Illustrated. Toronto: J. H. Beers & Co., 1907. Pp. xiii, 673.

of residents in the counties of Lambton and York, respectively, are fair representatives of that class of books which is the delight of the farmhouse and the terror of every one in search of exact information who is driven to consult them. Their genesis is an ingenious device to trade upon the vanity of men not accustomed to books, and to enlist for selfish ends the semi-conscious wish of every one to leave some little record of his progenitors and of his own life and surroundings. The temptation of seeing his name and family history on the pages of a handsome quarto volume, well printed, with good paper, large margin, and portraits of his neighbours and friends, is more than the ordinary man can resist, so that the signature is soon appended to the agreement presented by the glib book-agent. The next step is to fill up the list of questions relating to himself, his wife and children, adding what traditional recollections he may have of his forbears, which in due course is manipulated into what looks like English, but is journalese of a low type. It is quite possible that if these books were confined to actually known facts in the lives of those who figure there they might be of some value; but when entry after entry commences thus: "The parents of Mr. —— came from England (or Ireland) about 18—"; or, "Mr. —— is a member of an old English family which was founded in England in the days of William the Conqueror"; or (of a Scotsman born in 1820), "Mr. —— is a descendant of the Duke of Argyll and of Sir Colin Campbell of Lucknow," it is obvious that much of the contents is harmless drivel.

(4) Manitoba, the North-west Provinces and British Columbia

Histoire de l'Ouest Canadien de 1822 à 1869, Époque des Troubles. Par l'Abbé G. Dugas. Montreal, 1906. Pp. 154.

This volume is a continuation of the author's earlier work, reviewed in volume i, page 47, of this REVIEW, and of which an English translation was issued in 1905 (see notice of the latter in our volume xi, page 139). In a further work, reviewed in volume x (page 133), the author dealt with the causes leading up to the rising of the *métis* in the Red River colony in 1869. The volume now to be noticed is intended as the second of a series on "L'Ouest Canadien." A third is promised, which will give the details of the famous rising of the half-breeds in 1869-1870. Should it not rather be called a fourth, as the "Histoire Véridique" of 1905 would seem to intervene? But perhaps the author purposes incorporating the latter in the promised volume.

The author's point of view is that of an ecclesiastic dealing with the history of the missions, schools and general organization of his Church in western Canada; a French-Canadian, proud of his race and of its achievements in discovery and exploration, and regarding with a jealous though sometimes admiring eye the enterprise of the intruding outlander of another blood and faith; an educationist, and withal a controversialist, wielding a vigorous pen, and giving no quarter to opponents who pass over in silence incidents deemed by him of importance, or who rashly claim priority for institutions not initiated by his order. His work has importance as a clerical presentation of the history of Manitoba and the western provinces, with special reference to the first Riel rebellion, from the *métis* and French-Canadian standpoint. By the history of the Canadian west, he understands the history of its civilization, and by civilization he means "the progress of the Christianity founded in the North-west, at the price of heroic sacrifices, by Monseigneur Provencher." Naturally he regards Bishops Provencher and Taché as the prime leaders in the work.

While commending the Red River pioneers of Scots origin for courage, perseverance, industry, steady habits, social virtues,

and the high esteem in which they were held, he refuses them the credit of civilizing the North-west. Material progress alone, he argues, is not civilization. Intelligence enlightened by the truth, hearts practised to virtue, order, thrift—that is civilization. And that, he maintains, was what the Roman Catholic missions accomplished. The reviewer may be permitted to suggest that credit is due to Scotsman and French-Canadian, to Protestant and to Roman Catholic missionary alike for their part in advancing the civilization and progress of the North-west, and that any new light upon their motives, their effort and achievement, and the results which followed, is welcomed by the patriot and student. Mr. Dugas' contribution to Canadian history is important, as well as interesting.

The author makes some use of ecclesiastical archives, but his chief sources appear to be the histories of Ross, Begg, Tuttle and Gunn, whose facts and inferences, however, are at times freely and vigorously combated where they touch on questions of race or religion. M. Dugas, who was ordained in the North-west, and taught Latin at St. Boniface College for two or three years, is able to bring his local knowledge into play. Residing among his compatriots during the troubles, he sympathized, naturally enough, with them in matters then in controversy. The historians mentioned are censured for faults of commission as well as of omission. They praised the Scotch at the expense of the French-Canadian and of the *métis*. And they omitted to give credit where credit was due, to Roman Catholic missions and schools. It is possible that a similar charge might be retorted against M. Dugas himself, who is silent regarding the achievements of missionaries not of his own faith. Even the monumental work of James Evans, whose invention of the syllabic Cree alphabet has contributed largely to the success of missions of all denominations, is passed over without a word.

M. Dugas is right in insisting upon the special difficulties of Bishop Provencher's work. His flocks were scattered from Lake Superior to the Rockies and beyond. By hereditary instinct and training they were nomads and hunters. To transform these children of the wilderness into farmers, to persuade them to give up the roving and exhilarating, although precarious, life of the

plains, for the humdrum of a sedentary existence, was no light task. On the willing backs of Provencher and Taché fell the burden and the responsibility. The author's exposition of the causes which contributed to a solution of the difficulty is illuminating and satisfactory. Without the nucleus of settlement at St. Boniface, with its missions and schools, success would have been impossible. An abundant harvest, reaped by the Scotch settlers, the failure of buffalo to come north, the non-arrival of the Company's annual supply vessel in Hudson Bay, the hostility of Sioux hunters, land disputes in Minnesota between the *métis* and the authorities, the union of the great fur companies, oppressive laws and administration, followed in one or two instances by popular uprisings, heavy snows, unprecedented floods, all brought their own lessons home to Canadian and *métis* alike, and aided the bishops in their task of grouping the rovers of the plains into parishes. The field was great, the workers few. To raise up priests from the native population was impossible. After thirty-four years' experience, Provencher "had not the consolation of seeing a single one of his scholars respond to his views." Clerical life presented no attractions to nomads of the plains.

"Civilization ought to precede evangelization," says the historian Ross. "Not so," says M. Dugas, in effect. "We tried that and failed. Evangelize and then civilize. That way lies success. Follow the Indian in his wanderings; become a savage along with him. That is the only way, the only real life of the missionary. That was the way of the Thibaults, the Lacombes, the Tachés, the Laflèches, the Grandins, and all the Oblate missionaries. They it was who brought true civilization to the savages, who went on improving their manners, while allowing them at the same time to pursue their nomad life on the great prairies of the North-west." To secure men and means for the work, the bishops journeyed from time to time to Lower Canada and even to France. Schools for boys, the author asserts, were opened at St. Boniface and Pembina three years before the Scotch settlers had one; and under Provencher's auspices a girls' school was opened in 1829, fifteen years earlier than the coming of the Grey Sisters, 1844. M. Dugas is indeed amply justified in his eulogies of Provencher and Taché.

M. Dugas charges the Roman Catholics of Quebec with wilfully closing their eyes to the immense resources of the North-west, and thereby allowing the more enterprising people of Ontario to occupy the territory. It might have been a French-Canadian province. "There was a grave fault committed on the part of our religious and civil authorities in this connection," says the author; "we feel it to-day, seeing the inferiority of the French Catholic population in the North-west." In another passage he humorously adds, "The children of darkness were wiser in their generation than the children of light."

Approaching the rising of 1869-1870, he affirms that the late Sir John Schultz and his friends settled in the North-west for the express purpose of overthrowing the established order of things, by attacking not only the Hudson's Bay Company, but the authority of the government of Assiniboia. "They proved it amply," says M. Dugas, "as we shall show in a third volume." He enumerates among the principal events which influenced the attitude of the *métis* toward the new settlers (1) the *Nor'wester's* persistent attacks on the territorial government, (2) the Corbett affair, including his release from prison by a mob, (3) the similar release of Dr. Schultz from imprisonment at a later date, (4) the establishment of what the author calls Spence's "ridiculous republic" at Portage la Prairie. These causes combined to weaken respect for constituted authority and public order, and thus paved the way to the troublous incidents of 1869-1870.

There are occasional misprints and other errors, but they are few. The Rev. Dr. Black is mentioned under the name of Blake. There was no province of Ontario in 1860 (page 137). The author is not aware of the existence of any institution for the education of young ladies other than that of the Grey Sisters, but one has existed in Winnipeg for several years. The buffalo are not quite so near extinction as the author thinks. Mr. Thompson Seton found them last summer north of the Saskatchewan, and the herds in the national parks at Banff and elsewhere are by no means inconsiderable.

JAMES H. COYNE

Les successeurs de la Vérendrye—Sous la domination Française. 1. Joseph Fleurimont de Noyelles; 2. Jacques Repentigny Le Gardeur, Sieur de Saint-Pierre; 3. Saint-Luc de la Corne. 1743-1755. Par le juge L. A. Prud'homme. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second series, vol. xii, sec. i, pp. 65-81.)

Judge Prud'homme's investigation of the history of discovery in the North-west, reviewed in our last volume (xi: 48), is continued in the above paper, which, like the former, is based almost exclusively on the documents in the last volume of Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements.*

The efforts of La Vérendrye's sons to obtain justice for their father and themselves met with little success. "Justice was sold, not given; and they had neither the money nor the inclination to buy it." It is true that M. de Noyelles, his successor, showed his sympathy by permitting the sons to continue the work of discovery. But when he was succeeded in 1750 by Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, the La Vérendryes were ignored, their proffered services rejected, their merchandise and even their books of account at the forts withheld, and they themselves reduced to such straits that they were fain to resume military service in the eastern part of New France. One was killed in the siege of Quebec, the Chevalier went down in the wreck of *L'Auguste,* the youngest survived the conquest and died at Montreal in 1797.

The La Vérendryes, by their tactful and friendly spirit in dealing with the Crees, Assiniboines and Sioux, had succeeded in enormously extending the territory of New France, in building forts, and in diverting to a considerable extent the trade in peltries from Hudson Bay to Lake Superior and Montreal. The Indians had even actively co-operated in the erection of the fortified posts. Saint-Pierre was a brave soldier, as his later career abundantly proved, but he was by character and temperament disqualified from treating with the natives. The result was disastrous to his interests. Two years after the La Vérendryes' departure from the North-west, the forts were burned by the Indians, and the latter were leagued to drive the French from the

country. The Hudson's Bay Company, which profited by this as by other troubles experienced by their French rivals, was accused of fomenting Indian warfare, in order that the French might be unable to secure either furs or provisions. Meanwhile, the native tribes played the game of war and diplomacy in their own way, with a due regard to their own interests.

A list is appended of nineteen French forts scattered from Lake Nipigon to Calgary, with locations and dates of establishment. The learned writer's local knowledge gives authority to some identifications. In his view the original Fort Poskoyac was not where a fort of that name was afterwards built, near Lake Cumberland, but was erected a short distance east of the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan, on the site afterwards called Fort La Corne.

It is interesting to note that there is some reason for believing that Crees from Rainy Lake, or even from the Lake of the Woods, were among the forces that fought under Montcalm in the last great struggle around Quebec.

Had Saint-Pierre been as eager to extend the discoveries of La Vérendrye as to profit by the trade in furs, the French would have reached the Pacific in the middle of the eighteenth century. But furs occupied the foremost place in his thoughts as in those of his employers, and so the great plans of La Vérendrye were doomed to failure.

JAMES H. COYNE

New Canada and the New Canadians. By Howard Angus Kennedy. Preface by Lord Strathcona. London: Horace Marshall and Son [1907]. Pp. 264.

Every year sees the production of one or more books upon the Canadian West by journalists or intelligent men of affairs who visit the country in search of "copy" or good investments. Mr. Kennedy was a special correspondent for *The Times* on his latest visit, but he had made his first acquaintance with the prairies in 1885, when, as war correspondent of a Montreal newspaper, he accompanied the troops sent to crush the North-west Rebellion. The contrast between 1885 and twenty-one years

later is frequently in his mind as he pens his description of the present aspect of the West. His first chapter, indeed, is mainly an account of the earlier experiences. It contains a frank statement of the muddle which goes down to history as the battle of Cut Knife hill, but otherwise throws no special light upon the campaign. The writing of history is, however, not Mr. Kennedy's concern for the moment. He has to convey to the reader the impressions which he received from his journey through this new land of promise—impressions of hope, energy, work, development. It is the transformation of a wilderness into cultivation, of solitude into the home of a nation, of scattered groups of settlers of diverse origin and speaking alien tongues into the unity of a new nation of English speech. The new nation will be hybrid when it at length emerges, but so was the older nation which originated English speech. It is the ingredients that count. If they be sound, the resulting amalgam may be looked forward to with complacency.

What has Mr. Kennedy to say of the various types of settler that he came across in his peregrinations? First, there are the English, whom he found everywhere, but describes chiefly in connection with the settlement around Lloydminster, on the borders of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The colony there has prospered exceedingly, and, as he says,

> "the Englishmen have not merely learnt such western ways as were better than their own, they have refused to unlearn certain English ways that are better than the ways of the west. Life at first was reduced to its primitive elements; but since the pioneer strain has been relieved the little refinements of an older world are beginning to bloom again."

We have it from other sources that the Englishmen are setting an example to the whole country in making the immediate surroundings of their houses attractive with flowers and shrubs, as is their habit in the old country. The American immigrants, like the English, are everywhere, although it is in the drier "bald-headed" prairie of southern Saskatchewan that they constitute the largest proportion of the settlers. Mr. Kennedy has little to say of them, except that they appear perfectly well disposed towards the Canadian nationality and political institutions. He mentions the influx of a considerable number of Americanized French-Canadians, who had originally assisted in the development

of the timber industry in the State of Michigan and subsequently settled there and in Illinois, but who now are returning to the land of their birth, although not to that portion of it from which they first set out.

Among the foreign colonists Mr. Kennedy visited the Scandinavians in "New Norway," a district of central Alberta; the Germans at Strassburg, fifty miles north of Regina; the Hungarians at Esterhazy, in the same neighbourhood; the Doukhobors, and some of the less remote Galician settlements. He finds virtues in all, and although he does not hesitate to point out faults as well, the balance, in his view, is always in favour of the immigrant. Thus, some of the Doukhobors have been "troublesome," but the majority are honest, inoffensive and industrious. Their communal or co-operative methods seem to work well; having erected a cement block plant and built a flour mill, they now propose "to instal electric light, to connect their villages by a communal telephone system, and to build in every centre a school where the children will get an English education." These are indeed advances. The Galicians are as yet on a much lower plane. Their sanitary arrangements leave much to be desired, and of ventilating their hovels they have no notion whatever. But they take up land that other and more advanced agriculturists will not look at, and, moreover, they make their farming pay. The Scandinavian settlers are among the very best, and with them he includes the Icelandic population of Manitoba, many of whom are settled on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg and form an interesting group of fisher-folk. Mr. Kennedy's account of the Indians as he saw them on their reserves is very interesting and full of hopeful indications of a prosperous future in store for the saving remnant.

It would take too much space to do justice to all the sagacious remarks of Mr. Kennedy. We will quote but one: "There is only one class on the plains, and that is the working class. Here and there you meet a gentleman of leisure, but he is called a tramp."

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. By Frederick V. Holman. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1907. Pp. 301.

John McLoughlin was born at Rivière du Loup, Quebec, in 1784. He was educated as a physician in Scotland, and having joined the Northwest Company he was placed in charge presently at Fort William. McLoughlin opposed the union with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821; nevertheless he was sent subsequently to the Pacific coast, and for twenty years he directed, with conspicuous success, the operations of the company in Oregon. Oregon comprised at this time the region between the Rockies and the Pacific from California to Alaska. By arrangements between Great Britain and the United States in effect from 1818 to 1846, the ultimate division of this territory was left an open question, the citizens of both nations enjoying meanwhile equal rights of trade and settlement. The trading rights of Englishmen in the territory were confined, by license of the British government, to the Hudson's Bay Company; and, few Americans choosing to come thither prior to 1842, McLoughlin's position as head of the company in that country was long practically autocratic. Jurisdiction over Englishmen in Oregon was vested in the distant courts of Upper Canada; but in the rare cases where Indians murdered whites, McLoughlin proceeded to a trial and execution on the spot. By stern but just government he kept Oregon free of Indian wars during his régime, and made life and the transport of property practically safe. His influence over the natives was unbounded. By it they were restrained from violence to the defenceless American settlers who, in 1842 and the following years, came to Oregon in numbers. To Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay Company the presence of these settlers was unwelcome, but McLoughlin, who alone was in a position to save them from starvation, was too humane to withhold food and other supplies even from such of them as could not pay. His generosity on this point having met with the disapproval of his superiors, he assumed the responsibility of the debts and left their service in 1846. He had previously given his adhesion to the provisional government organized by the settlers in Oregon,

and subsequently he became a citizen of the United States; nevertheless Congress was induced, by misrepresentations, to deprive him of a valuable land claim at Oregon City, which the Oregon legislature restored to his family in 1862, five years after McLoughlin's death. The discussion of this claim figures largely in the work, and a third of the volume is devoted to documents illustrative of this and other points. The narrative portion of the work is a revision and extension of an address by the author on McLoughlin Day at the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland in 1905. Naturally the eulogistic tendency is in evidence, yet not often to excess. The bearing of the work on Canadian history is confined practically to McLoughlin's Canadian origin and his share in the events in Oregon preceding the boundary settlement of 1846.

In the present dearth of local histories of the western country, Dr. Wade's little volume on *The Thompson Country** is particularly welcome. He begins with a chapter on the original Indian inhabitants as far as they can be identified from archaeological discovery, tradition, or references to them by the early explorers. The first explorations were made in the interest of the fur-trading companies, and for fifty years the history of the country is the history of the fur-traders and of their dealings with the Indians and with one another. The hero of this period, and of Dr. Wade's book, is John Tod, the chief trader at the Kamloops post of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1842 to 1846. His marvellous adventures with the Indians, as related by himself, are not easy to match. In this portion of his narrative Dr. Wade has used all the ordinary memoirs of the fur-traders accessible in print, and also, apparently, a written narrative by John Tod which has never been printed. The recollections of the old trader would form an interesting volume, and it is to be hoped that they will be printed before long, if they actually exist in any connected form. The period of the gold discoveries and that of the railway are treated in more hasty

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* *The Thompson country, being notes on the history of southern British Columbia, and particularly of the city of Kamloops, formerly Fort Thompson.* By Mark S. Wade. Kamloops, 1907. Pp. 136.

fashion by Dr. Wade, and, as it seems, rather perfunctorily. The subject, indeed, was no longer a record of the dealings of a few men of striking personal qualities, but the history of an economic advance, and Dr. Wade fails to give us more than a brief and rather confused enumeration of settlements made, roads constructed, mining camps started and abandoned, etc. It is not fair, however, to judge him by a standard at which he has not aimed, and his modest title, "Notes," shows that he was not writing a history but putting together facts for the use of a future historian.

The last chapter of Mr. Meeker's volume of *Reminiscences** is an addendum by Clarence B. Bagley, entitled, rather paradoxically, "In the Beginning," and giving a brief account of the dealings of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Pacific slope immediately south of the international boundary. Mr. Bagley writes with judicial fairness, with the documents before him. He is a warm eulogist of the work and lives of the men connected with the Great Company. Upon the authority of "the old records and correspondence of the early days at old Fort Nisqually, the earliest white man's home in what is now Western Washington," he bases his judgments, which are uniformly favourable to the Company for fair and even generous dealing. The early missionaries from the United States in their books and letters, says the writer,

> "acknowledge and emphasize their great obligations to the Hudson's Bay Company at their many posts for their generous hospitality, uniform courtesy, and considerate acts of continuing kindness. Still, all through their writings runs a vein of ill-concealed resentment, or of open unfriendliness. At this late day, this seems little short of blackest ingratitude; but to one familiar with the affairs of that period, there seems some excuse for it."

This extenuation is found partly in national, and partly in sectarian, rivalry. The Company opposed the missionaries' early efforts to organize a civil government; the Company's influence was favourable to the Roman Catholic Church. The historic name of John McLoughlin comes in for much well merited praise. The writer speaks of "the grandeur of char-

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* *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound.* By Ezra Meeker. Seattle, Wash., 1905. Pp. xx, 555.

acter, the simple lovableness, of this prince among men." Other names, prominent in the early operations of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, are also mentioned with strong commendation, including Sir James Douglas, Peter Skeen Ogden, William Fraser Tolmie, Archibald McDonald, and John Work. The last named, unless the writer of this review is wrongly informed, was a brother of the late centenarian Senator Wark, of New Brunswick, the spelling having been altered in the free fashion of the west. Mr. Bagley intimates that he may at some future date amplify his account by utilizing the Company's records kept at Vancouver, Nisqually and Langley.

Admiral Moresby's article on Old Vancouver* is not a discussion of the town of Vancouver but of Vancouver Island. In 1852 the Admiral, a young naval officer on H.M.S. *Thetis,* was sent to the Island and he describes in a most interesting style the work of Sir James Douglas and the skill and firmness which he showed in demanding two Indian murderers who had taken refuge with their tribes and whom Douglas secured, tried, and executed. The Admiral is aware of modern changes, the present teeming life and "roar of civilization" in the North Pacific and says: "To an old sailor who recalls many men and things in the peace of his last days, it is difficult sometimes to distinguish phantom and reality, and easier to believe that the pines are still waving in their solitude and the rivers running undisturbed to the great ocean."

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* *Old Vancouver.* By Admiral John Moresby. (Cornhill Magazine, April, 1907, pp. 548-558.)

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

Landeskunde des Britischen Nordamerika. Von A. Oppel. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1906. Pp. 154.

Regional geography: the Americas. By J. B. Reynolds. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907. Pp. 128.

The British Empire. Selected and edited by F. D. Herbertson. (Descriptive Geographies from Original Sources.) London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906. Pp. xiv, 254.

The first place among the geographical books of the year on Canada must be given to the little handbook by Professor Oppel. He manages in a small space to convey a great deal of information, and his information is usually accurate. The physical geography is particularly well described, as indeed might be expected. The only pronounced blunders that we have detected in this part of his work are the statement that the Niagara Falls are hidden beneath a covering of ice in the winter, and the never-dying fable of Mount Hooker as one of the loftiest summits of the Rockies. Mount Brown, which is usually coupled with Mount Hooker in this legend, is not mentioned by Dr. Oppel, and this shows that he must at least have had his suspicions of his authorities. In the portions of the little book which deal with history and political geography there are more errors. Lord Harris, the successor to Lord Elgin as governor-general, is unknown to history. The two rebellions under Riel are somewhat exaggerated into a condition of constant hostility, with *several* appeals to arms. Riel's name is Germanized into "Riehl." The Grand Trunk Pacific is confused with the Intercolonial Railway (p. 60). It is rather unfortunate that most of the book appears to have been written before the creation of the two north-west provinces, so that the north-west region is habitually described according to the old division of four territories, although a statement is inserted towards the end of the volume (pp. 119-120) that two new

provinces were created in 1905 out of the former territories. There are illustrations of no great value and a map.

The second book in our heading shows the manifest improvement in the text-books of geography issued of late. Mr. J. B. Reynolds has compiled an excellent manual of physical or, as he prefers to call it, regional geography. The main facts are put clearly and, so far as Canada is concerned, with entire accuracy. The briefer references to political or human geography are not so free from error. Montreal, for instance, is not the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and the practice of lighting bonfires in the fields at the harvest season in the North-west wheat-growing district is not with the vain expectation of warming the cold winds, but of interposing a canopy of smoke to check radiation of heat from the earth. There are numerous and excellent diagrams and illustrations.

In the series "Descriptive Geographies from original sources," a volume on the British Empire has appeared, edited by Mrs. Herbertson. The plan of the series is to supply a geographical description of a country by piecing together extracts from works of travel or geography, which have the merit at least of being based on personal observation. The volume under review affords pleasant, if somewhat disjointed, reading, and there is undoubtedly a certain freshness of treatment for which geographies are usually not conspicuous.

The volume on Canada* by Mr. Wilfred Campbell, with coloured illustrations from paintings of Mr. T. Mower Martin, is one of a series of illustrated gift-books. With the purpose of this volume in view, and having regard to the limited space at the author's disposal for so large a subject, it would be vain to expect anything like a complete statistical or geographic account. It is rather the emotional effect of the country upon an appreciative traveller that is attempted, and Mr. Campbell is at his best in his chapters on the Canadian seasons and woods and on the Canadian lake region, where he can give full play to

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* *Canada.* Painted by T. Mower Martin, R.C.A. Described by Wilfred Campbell, LL.D. London: A. & C. Black, 1907. Pp. xviii, 272.

his poetic instinct and reproduce some of his own familiar impressions of Canadian nature. The author has no hesitation, however, in criticizing certain features in Canadian social and political life, such as the selfish and short-sighted policy of the British Columbian labour unions in seeking to restrict immigration into that unpopulated province, or the over-provision of legislative bodies. On this latter point he shrewdly observes that "a great deal of our political corruption has arisen in the first place in the local legislatures," and that "local government has been somewhat overdone on this continent" (p. 45). It would not be difficult to point out many inaccuracies. Haste, however, seems to be responsible for some of them as well as for occasional slovenliness of expression, as in the first lines of page 73. Strangely enough, the first words of the sentence on Ste. Anne de Beaupré describe that famous shrine as "near" the Saguenay, a mistake which Mr. Campbell could hardly make in his waking moments and for which the proof-reader, through some derangement of paragraphs, is, we suspect, solely responsible. But at whose door are we to lay the extraordinary statement on page 82 that Notre Dame Cathedral at Montreal is "after the style of the famous Notre Dame in Paris"? The illustrations are very numerous and fairly good. The scenes in Muskoka and the Georgian Bay region are perhaps the most adequate and artistically successful, although the solemn beauty of the mountain scenery is also sometimes well rendered, as in the picture of Arrow Lake.

Mr. E. F. Knight publishes an excellent book on *Over-Sea Britain,** some ninety pages of which are given to British America. He touches history but briefly and is chiefly concerned with geography, discussing each province in turn. He notes, what is often forgotten, that "Canada, stretching as it does from north of the Arctic Circle to the latitude of Rome, has a variety of climates" (p. 207). Canada is the best watered country in the world, and Mr. Knight says that it is also "the

* *Over-Sea Britain, a descriptive record of the geography, the historical, ethnological, and political development, and the economic resources of the Empire.* By E. F. Knight. With Maps. London: John Murray, 1907. Pp. ix, 324.

best fishing country in the world" (p. 218). The railway mileage in Canada will soon exceed that of France. It shows how rapidly conditions change that Mr. Knight's book is in some respects already out of date. He wrote before the Canadian Pacific transatlantic service was established. Calgary, which he gives as a town of 6,000 inhabitants, now has nearly 20,000, and Edmonton is no longer correctly described as "a little town on the Saskatchewan, an old trading fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, which is growing in importance as an agricultural centre" (p. 253). The book is accurate and we notice only an occasional slip, such as that of calling Laval University "ancient"; it was founded in 1854. Mr. Knight's sane descriptions are in pleasing contrast with the frothy praises of looser writers.

We welcome a new and improved edition of Baedeker's Canada,* which has become an indispensable companion for travellers in Canada. It contains many new maps and plans and the information is much better arranged than it was in the previous edition. The Bibliography has been brought down to date and the bulk of the book has been greatly increased. It is interesting to note the changes. In the edition of 1900 Winnipeg has 50,000 inhabitants; in the present one 90,000; Vancouver has changed from 25,000 to 45,000; Calgary from 5,000 to 15,000; Edmonton from 6,951 to 15,000; and so on.

The *Proceedings* of the Hamilton Scientific Association† contains three papers of geographical interest. These are a paper on the *Rivers of Canada,* by Professor A. P. Coleman, an account of the *Labrador Eclipse Expeditions,* by the Rev. D. B. Marsh and Mr. G. Parry Jenkins, and a description of a journey by canoe from *Prince Albert to Fort Churchill,* by Mr. J. W. Tyrrell. Professor Coleman gives some interesting data as to the watershed of the Rocky Mountains and describes

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* *The Dominion of Canada, with Newfoundland and an excursion to Alaska. Hand-book for Travellers.* By Karl Baedeker. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1907. Pp. lxiv, 331.

† *Journal and Proceedings of the Hamilton Scientific Association,* session 1905-1906, number xxii. Hamilton, Ont., 1906. Pp. 164.

the characteristics of the rivers in the different regions of Canada. The Labrador eclipse expedition was unfortunately a failure, on account of cloudy weather. The interest of the account of it by two of the representatives of the Hamilton Astronomical Society is mainly in the description of the preparations made; some notes on the country traversed are also given. Mr. Tyrrell's journey was chiefly remarkable for his descent of the Great Churchill river. The usual route followed by the Indian hunters is by a chain of small lakes and the Little Churchill river, the reason alleged being that the Great Churchill river is never free from ice. Mr. Tyrrell persuaded his guide to attempt the unknown, and they made the journey with complete success. The ice, however, was there, in the form of massive banks on either side of the channel for a distance of perhaps fifty miles. The explanation is that the river bed is narrow and the banks high at this part, and great floods and ice jams occur in the spring, the effect of which remains during the summer in the ice piled high on either bank.

The number of *Appalachia* for May, 1906, contained a paper by Mr. Charles E. Fay,* in which he traces the line of the watershed along the division of the Rocky Mountains known as the Bow Range, that is, the range bounded by Kicking Horse and Vermilion passes on the north and south respectively. The region is comparatively accessible to mountain climbers and contains many peaks of grand proportions.

A very interesting little volume has been put together by Mr. Martin Hunter† out of his reminiscences of travelling and hunting while in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He gives valuable information as to the routine duties of a factor at any of the ordinary inland posts, and his discussions of such topics as the relations of the Company's officers with the Indians and the competition of the "free traders" are also sug-

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* *The continental divide on the Bow range.* By Charles E. Fay. (Appalachia, vol. xi, pp. 125-132.)

† *Canadian Wilds.* By Martin Hunter. Columbus, Ohio: A. R. Harding Publishing Co. [1907]. Pp. 278.

gestive if not absolutely unbiased by personal feeling. His loyalty to the Company which he served so long is a pleasing trait. Much of the book is devoted to descriptions of hunting and explanations of the methods adopted by the Indians for trapping and killing the various wild animals of the northern forests. He is very outspoken in his denunciation of the illegal selling of whiskey to the Indians and says that the laws in that respect are practically a dead letter, in consequence of the difficulty of getting evidence sufficient to secure a conviction. The disappearance of game in what is now the northern part of Ontario and Quebec causes him deep regret for the old days when railways were not and the settler, missionary and free trader were equally unknown to the undebauched Indian. Hunting was then practically regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company's factors of the district. Many printer's errors disfigure the pages. The book is largely a reprint of papers contributed to *Forest and Stream* and the *Hunter-Trader-Trapper.*

The grim realities of mission work among the Indians of the far north are vividly depicted by Father Strecker.* It does not appear that the author has himself had experience of the life he writes about, but he has used with great skill the accounts of missionaries, and the result is a most faithful and lively presentation of the facts. He describes in a series of chapters the various occupations of the missionaries, their journeyings, the Indians, and what the different seasons bring of hardship, occupation and enjoyment. Of the latter there is little at any time. Perhaps the severest trial that missionaries have to endure is solitude. He quotes a most pathetic passage from one of them, who confesses that solitude so preyed upon his mind that at times he went nearly distracted, blaming himself for his folly in coming to such a wilderness of ice and snow, even belittling his avocation as missionary, and then with sudden revulsion of feeling clinging to the little altar in his tent with tears and prayers. There are some intensely disagreeable features of a missionary's life which are seldom spoken of. The

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* *Auf den Schneefeldern Nordamerikas.* Von Carl Christoph Strecker. Fulda, 1907. Pp. 94.

vermin which swarm upon the natives speedily accustom themselves to the white stranger, and he, perforce, to them. We unhesitatingly recommend a perusal of Father Strecker's little book to any who would understand the life of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Mackenzie river district.

Mr. Egerton R. Young, the veteran missionary, has written another pleasant volume on life in the north-west of Canada in days gone by.* It takes the form of a series of sketches, chiefly of out-door experience, embellished, no doubt, for literary purposes, but reflecting in the main the actual life led by missionaries and their Indian converts in the pre-railway era.

The number of intelligent Frenchmen who visit the former chief seat of their country's colonial empire seems to be increasing yearly. Mr. Maufroid† writes a very readable account of his travels on the American continent. His acquaintance with Canada was limited to the railway journey from Niagara to Toronto and thence to Montreal and Quebec, with short periods spent in each of the towns named. He devotes considerable space to the Indian village of Caughnawaga, near Montreal. He naturally makes mistakes, as where he speaks of the Metropolitan Church in Toronto as a "cathédrale presbytérienne."

M. St.-Germain makes a book out of his impressions of a journey from Nicolet to the Rocky Mountains and back.‡ His daughter was one of a little band of Sisters whom Father Lacombe took out to the North-west in 1893 to establish a school and a hospital among the Blackfeet Indians on their reservation in western Alberta. The object of his journey was to pay her a visit. There is nothing new or noteworthy in his point of view. As a practical farmer, he was apparently more

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* *The Battle of the bears, Life in the north land.* By Egerton R. Young. Boston and Chicago: W. A. Wilde Company [1907]. Pp. 342.

† *Du Mexique au Canada, journal de route en Amérique.* Par A. Maufroid. Paris: Louis Theuveny, 1907. Pp. 340.

‡ *Souvenirs et impressions de voyage au Nord-ouest Canadien.* Par F. H. St.-Germain. Arthabaska: 1907. Pp. 226.

impressed by the flat but fertile soil of Manitoba than by all the rocky grandeurs of the mountains.

Father Devine* was sent on missionary work from Newfoundland to Alaska and he made the journey across the continent by the Canadian Pacific Railway. His book is a record of the journey and of his subsequent sojourn on the Alaskan coast. The historical associations of Fort William interested him and he dilates upon the enterprise of the old explorers and fur-traders, for whom Fort William was the place of transshipment. The sensational story of the difficult mining operations conducted at Silver Islet is given at length, and the daring and dangerous career of the cowboy is dwelt upon almost, it would seem, with envy. The Alaskan portion of the volume does not concern us.

Among the books of travel by foreigners who devoted some of their time to Canada may be mentioned one by a German.† Herr Schroeder describes his journey by the Canadian Pacific Railway from Vancouver to Montreal. The chapter on the mountains of British Columbia has almost the completeness of a guide-book. He is very appreciative of the scenery, but when he ventures upon historical or geographical statements there are many inaccuracies. Three mountains, Mounts Brow (*sic*), Hooker, and Murchison, are said to be over 17,000 feet high. "Serious fighting" with Indians by the construction parties of the Canadian Pacific Railway is almost more than an exaggeration.

The handsome new edition of Hakluyt's Principal Navigations and Purchas's Pilgrims,‡ issued under the auspices of

* *Across widest America, Newfoundland to Alaska.* By Edward J. Devine, S.J. Montreal: The Canadian Messenger, 1905. Pp. 308.

† *Quer durch Amerika, Wanderungen in Kalifornien und Kanada.* Von Osw. Schroeder. Leipzig: Wanderer-Verlag, 1906. Pp. 226.

‡ *The Principal Navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English Nation.* By Richard Hakluyt. Twelve volumes. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905.

Hakluytus posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes. By Samuel Purchas. Twenty volumes. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905-1907.

the Hakluyt Society, deserves a reference. Cabot's voyage and the documents connected with it and those of Frobisher and Davis, in search of a north-west passage to India, are given in the seventh volume of Hakluyt, the voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Hore, Hill, Leigh and others to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and also Cartier's three voyages and that of Roberval in volume viii. Purchas's collection includes the narrative of Hudson's last voyage, as related by Pricket, the apologist for the mutineers, in volume xiii, Baffin's voyages in search of a north-west passage in volume xiv, Champlain's voyage of 1603 and Lescarbot's account of Monts' voyage to Acadia in volume xviii, and Whitbourne's voyages to Newfoundland in volume xix.

The monograph on Henry Hudson by Mr. E. M. Bacon* forms one of a series entitled "American Men of Energy." The chief stress is laid on Hudson's voyage up the river called after him. The chapter on his last voyage, in which he discovered and met his death in the vast inland sea that also bears his name, naturally depends upon the only authentic narrative of the events that has come down to us, the journal of Pricket. Purchas, who had also before him Hudson's own log, has left us only an abstract of it, some three or four pages long. It must ever be regretted that he did not print it as he found it. Mr. Bacon attempts to construct from Pricket's apologetic narrative, and the inherent probabilities of the case, what may be the real history of the mutiny which ended in Hudson and the sick sailors on board the vessel being marooned. Mr. Bacon writes well and makes out a plausible story, but he probably does not allow sufficiently for the real grievances of the mutineers. Master-seamen were harsh in those days, and it is only too likely that Hudson had treated some members at least of his crew with cruelty. The vengeance taken was, of course, wholly unjustifiable. Of the daring and enterprising spirit of Hudson there can be no two opinions. A reproduction of a map engraved from Hudson's own charts and descriptions of

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* *Henry Hudson, his times and his voyages.* By Edgar Mayhew Bacon. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. xii, 278.

his voyage adds greatly to the value of the book. It is the best evidence of Hudson's remarkable feat of exploration.

The Long Labrador Trail. By Dillon Wallace. New York: The Outing Publishing Company, 1907. Pp. xii, 316.

Along the Labrador Coast. By Charles Wendell Townsend. Boston: Dana, Estes & Company [1907]. Pp. xii, 290.

The account by Mr. Wallace of his successful journey through Labrador, first published in *Outing,* has now appeared in book form. The first part of the expedition, up to the time when Wallace and one other began their descent of the George River to Ungava Bay, leaving the rest of the party to retrace their steps to Groswater Bay, was reviewed by us last year,* and need not detain us further. The sequel covers by far the more adventurous journey; on two occasions at least it nearly proved fatal to both himself and his companion. The first mishap was an upset in the rapids of the George river. The season was late and the water very cold. They reached shore easily, but nearly succumbed to cold before they could contrive to make a fire. Not many days later they reached the Hudson's Bay Company's post near the mouth of the river, and from there they might have been safely and easily conveyed to Rigolet by the Company's steamer *Pelican,* which called at the post on her homeward voyage three days after their arrival. But the thirst for adventure was not yet quenched in Mr. Wallace, and he determined to make his way in company with some Eskimos by boat to Fort Chimo, and trust to the Eskimos to take him back by dog-train during the winter to the settlements on the Atlantic coast. This decision nearly cost him his life, for winter came upon them in the stormy ice-laden waters of Ungava Bay, and they were forced to abandon the boat and make their way by land to the nearest post on Whale River. Provisions ran short, the two white men were left behind in an

* See Vol. xi, p. 159.

abandoned hut, while the Eskimos pressed on to get assistance. After five days a rescue party reached them and they were saved a second time from imminent death. The rest of Mr. Wallace's journeying was without mishap. He returned by dog-sledge along the coast to Battle Harbour, which was reached on March 26th.

As a record of adventurous travel the book is interesting reading, particularly the latter part, but it adds little to what was already known, whether of the country or of its inhabitants. Apart from a brief geological report on the route between Lake Michikamau and Groswater Bay, there is very little attempt to communicate any scientific results. The two sketch maps given are rather a hindrance than a help, as in many instances they do not tally in the least with the descriptions of the route in the book itself.

In Dr. Townsend's book on Labrador the principal topic is the bird life. He and another ornithologist made a summer journey along the coast in the mail steamers for the purpose of studying the birds. The author deplores the reckless manner in which fishermen and "liveyeres" destroy birds and eggs alike in their desire for a change of diet from fish and salt pork. The condition of things has sadly changed from the time (the latter part of the eighteenth century) when Cartwright used to shoot curlews, ducks and geese on the coast. Audubon, at the time of his visit in 1833, saw countless flocks of curlews, a bird now almost extinct, although he describes with indignation the wanton destruction even then by "eggers" of eggs with chicks in them. The eider-duck, once one of the most plentiful birds in that region, has been almost driven away from the southern parts. Thus what might have been a source of great profit to Labrador, as it is to Norway and Iceland, has been thoughtlessly destroyed. "In Canadian Labrador," says Dr. Townsend, "the laws against egging or shooting the nesting birds are now fairly enforced. . . On Newfoundland Labrador. . . there seems to be no let or hindrance to the destructive tendencies of mankind." This is a matter that ought to be dealt with promptly by the Newfoundland Government.

Incidentally, Dr. Townsend has a good deal to say about the fishermen and their mode of life, the Eskimos and their Moravian pastors, and the desolate but fascinating scenery. He puts in a good word for the Eskimo dog, and declares that he found him amiable and dog-like rather than wolf-like. But he lays stress upon the necessity of getting rid of the dogs if reindeer are to be imported and domesticated. The dogs would kill the deer. A chapter on Dr. Grenfell and his wonderful work concludes a very readable and instructive book.

Captain Amundsen has contributed accounts of his expedition to the neighbourhood of the north magnetic pole to two geographical journals.* After some rather perilous navigation from Baffin Bay into Melville Sound and southward along the west coast of Boothia he brought his little vessel, the *Gjöa*, into a safe anchorage on the south coast of King William Land near enough to the north magnetic pole to be a suitable station for his observations on terrestrial magnetism. Here they remained for two winters and a continuous series of observations for nineteen months was taken. During that time some sledge expeditions were made and the coast of Queen Victoria Land nearest to them was charted. They fraternized also with various bands of Eskimos and studied their manners and customs as far as possible. Then in the summer of 1905 they left their anchorage and made their way westward through Dease Strait, Coronation Gulf and Union Strait, and the long sought north-west passage was actually accomplished for the first time by a sea-going vessel. Another winter was spent in the ice off King Point and on October 19th, 1906, the *Gjöa* arrived at San Francisco after her unprecedented voyage. The two accounts are evidently one and the same, translated, in all probability, both from a Norwegian original. There are small differences, most of which are perhaps due to editorial excision, the English version containing many slight or humor-

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* *To the North Magnetic Pole and through the North-west Passage.* By Captain Roald Amundsen. (Geographical Journal, Vol. xxix, pp. 485-518.) *Vers le pôle magnétique boréal par le passage du Nord-ouest.* Par Roald Amundsen. (*La Géographie,* Tome xv, pp. 233-252.)

ous details that are wanting in the French. The latter is on the whole more seriously scientific than the former, particularly so in the brief explanation of the scope of the magnetic observations which the author set himself to make. A few curious discrepancies in the two narratives occur. In the English account of the storm that so nearly drove them ashore on the coast of Boothia, it is said that they anchored at midday on the 3rd and not until the 8th had the wind dropped sufficiently to release them from their dangerous position. In the French account the wind is said to have dropped on the day following that on which they anchored. The latter is no doubt the correct statement. Again, to show how late in the Eskimo child's life the process of weaning takes place, Captain Amundsen says (in the English version) that he has seen boys of ten years of age lay aside their arrows to partake of their usual repast. In the French the boys are even more manly and are said to lay aside "la pipe pour participer au festin." The variation here amounts to a demonstration that both versions are independent translations of a Norwegian original, the Norwegian word for "arrows" being "Pile" and that for "pipe" being "Pibe." But which did Captain Amundsen write?

Books on sport in Canada are always fairly numerous. Mr. F. C. Selous,* a veteran sportsman, with the blood of many African lions and elephants on his head, came to Canada in his later years for the purpose of gratifying an early ambition to kill a moose. He killed more than one. He also killed caribou in Newfoundland, and moose as well as caribou in the Yukon Territory. His account of the journeys up the MacMillan river in the Yukon will be interesting to others besides sportsmen. Mr. Lambert's book on *Fishing in British Columbia*† is strictly a sportsman's book, although in a chapter on the salmon statistical information is given as to the packing industry. Mr.

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* *Recent hunting trips in British North America.* By F. C. Selous. London: Witherby & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. 400. Illustrations.

† *Fishing in British Columbia.* By T. W. Lambert. London: Horace Cox, 1907. Pp. xvi, 136.

Thomas's book* deals chiefly with Canada. He killed mountain sheep and bear in British Columbia, caribou in New Brunswick, moose in the Upper Ottawa region. A certain amount of description of the country traversed relieves the monotonous recital of "kills." The last chapter is an account of hunting moose with a kodak. The pictures given are only fair.

We reviewed last year M. Siegfried's "Le Canada, Les deux Races," and we welcome it now in English,† the English, apparently, of M. Siegfried himself, since no translator is named. Excellent and racy English it is, too. M. Siegfried has learned it in real life but has not always been able to tell slang when he heard it. It is amusing to find this highly cultivated Frenchman writing thus: "Mr. Borden *stumped,* has no reply to make" (p. 173); "the Anglo-Saxons . . . . are thus enabled to *rule the roost*" (p. 250), and so on. There are some slips in regard to names: "Esquimanet" for Esquimault, "Argentine" for Argenteuil, "Munroe" for Monroe, the author of the Monroe Doctrine. The University of Toronto was not founded in 1837, there is no "University of Montreal," and by the "College of Winnipeg" the author probably means St. John's College. But these are trifles. The book is a frank and passionless analysis of Canadian political thought to-day, and is the most scientific treatise on the subject that has yet appeared. M. Siegfried should have taken his book seriously enough to furnish an index.

Mr. Frederick Hamilton, writing on *The Englishman in Canada*,‡ shows admirable insight and common sense. The Englishman coming to Canada expects to find a somewhat crude England, and is proportionately disappointed when he finds himself in a strange environment and ridiculed for his failure to adjust himself to it. The people in Canada are rather of Scotch and Irish than of English descent, and in any case the greater

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* *Hunting big game with gun and kodak.* By William S. Thomas. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. x, 240.

† *The Race Question in Canada.* By André Siegfried. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907. Pp. viii, 343.

‡ *The Englishman in Canada.* By C. Frederick Hamilton. (The National Review, September, 1907, pp. 116-127.)

part of the population is native born. Canada has its own social system, and resents airs of patronage on the part of new-comers. This attitude is not adopted towards Canada alone, nor is it peculiarly English: did not Mr. James Russell Lowell write an admirable essay on a certain air of condescension in foreigners visiting the United States? It is the natural attitude of an old and mature society to a new one. The Englishman with his reserve and his peculiarities of dress, is especially noticeable, and for a time he is a stranger in Canada, but he soon adjusts himself admirably. Yet he must expect to find in Canada "not another England, not an imitation England, but a new nation, distinct from all other nations, and let us hope with virtues as well as faults of its own."

Mr. Charles Watney's query *Why the Englishman is despised in Canada** should be met by the reply that the Englishman as such is not despised in Canada. The truth, of course, is that, for a variety of reasons, more immigrants unsuited to the peculiar conditions in Canada have come from England than from any other country and these Englishmen, unwilling to do the work offered, and putting on airs of superiority, *are* despised. Mr. Watney thinks that the Canadian fails to make allowance, and this is probably true; in the bustle of an expanding commercial life politeness is too apt to be forgotten. The Canadian, too, is not backward in assuming *his* airs of superiority. What is needed is more discrimination in regard to the people sent out from England and a little more forbearance all round. No class is doing better in the West than the right sort of English immigrant.

Le Commerce de France avec le Canada avant 1760. Par Benjamin Sulte. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second series, volume xii, section i, pp. 45-63.)

M. Sulte's investigation is not so comprehensive as the title would suggest. Had it been called "Notes on the commerce of

* *Why the Englishman is despised in Canada.* By Charles Watney. (The National Review, November, 1907, pp. 430-443.)

France with Canada," etc., the title would have been more exact. In the period between 1716 and 1718 powder, guns and lead for the manufacture of bullets were the French commodities most in demand among the Indians. The statements concerning prices and freights on imported commodities are especially interesting. Thus a barrique of wine (about 215 litres) costing 50 francs in France sold in Canada for 300 francs. But the cost of freight and insurance reduced the profit of such a transaction to 23 francs, without deducting interest on the sum invested. The risks of navigation were great. On one occasion out of twenty vessels making the voyage only six made the return trip. As soon as the winter set in there was a rapid increase in the price of imported commodities. For example, a linen hat costing 40 sous in France sold in Canada during the winter season for from 40 to 50 francs.

The most interesting part of the sketch is that concerned with the attitude of the French mercantile classes towards the cession of New France. The idea, which existed in England in the middle of last century, that the loss of the colonies should be looked forward to with pleasure and endured with equanimity, found its counterpart in France in the eighteenth century. Thus Voltaire said, "Je voudrais voir le Canada au fond de la mer glaciale" (p. 49). The merchants had a saner point of view. Still it was only in the last thirty-five years of the French occupation that there was an adequate idea of the commercial importance of New France. Rochelle was the important trading point of departure for Canada; and merchants of Rochelle were strongly opposed to the cession. M. J. B. Gausterneau, secretary of the academy of Rochelle, and the most prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce of that city, sent an address in 1761 to the Duc de Choiseul, minister of war and marine; the contents of this address read almost like a modern speech on the theme, "Canada, the country of the Twentieth Century." It stated that the country had illimitable forests, lakes and rivers. The diversity of climate ensured fruits assorted to all climates; wheat could be grown, practically in every section, in abundance. The stretches of pasture lands would nourish innumerable herds of cattle. Its rivers and lakes were abounding reservoirs of pis-

catorial wealth. A large population was assured by the fecundity of the women and the long life of the inhabitants in general. Whatever ills existed were importations of such parasitical officials as Bigot. Not only the agricultural and forest wealth, but also the mineral possibilities were great. The waterways afforded easy means of transport. With singular prescience it was stated that rapids and falls had great power possibilities.

As M. Sulte sagely concludes, the centralized rule of Versailles precluded commercial development along natural lines. With the English occupation came a freedom which permitted that exploitation of the resources of Canada the wonderful possibilities of which had been foreshadowed in the prophetic address of the city of Rochelle.

Canada's Century: Progress and Resources of the Great Dominion. By R. J. Barrett. With an introduction by the Right Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. London: The Financier and Bullionist, Limited, 1907. Pp. xiv, 538.

The material contained in this book is developed from a series of letters, which originally appeared in *The Financier and Bullionist,* written during a tour of the author in Canada during the autumn of 1906. These letters have been supplemented in various particulars. In his narrative, with its well chosen illustrations, the author certainly goes as far in his praise of Canada as even the most enthusiastic Canadian could demand. The book is rendered especially interesting by Lord Strathcona's statement in the foreword, "Before the end of the century its [Canada's] population ought to exceed that of the United States at the present time, considering the facilities the country offers for the provision of homes for a large population, and the ease with which settlers can now reach it."

The topics treated are many—transportation, mining, agriculture, banking, forest resources, fisheries, etc. The statement the author makes in speaking of live stock fattening, viz., that he speaks "as a chronicler and not as a critic" (p. 188) should be borne in mind in the reading of the work in general. One

defect of the book is that the author attempted too large a task in a given time. As he himself admits, "the sort of survey I had to make had, of course, its disadvantages as well as its advantages. There was so much to see and do, and so comparatively little time in which to accomplish my considerable task, that I have had to supplement my investigations on the other side by inquiries and research on my return home" (p. 175). It happens that, while his descriptions of transportation and banking conditions are good, and his statements concerning industrial processes exact, there is a lack of critical insight as regards the wider implications of certain movements. Thus on the question of immigration his attitude is optimistically descriptive, not prudently critical.

At the end of each chapter the author gives a summary of his conclusions in black-faced type. Some of these conclusions state commonplaces in an emphatic manner. Thus, "The cities of eastern Canada are characteristic of the spirit which dominates the Canadians to-day . . . . the cities of Ontario, though differing in many respects from those of the sister province of Quebec, are equally characteristically Canadian." Important discovery! These summarized conclusions are very complimentary, and are in reality a procession of superlatives. When we read that "the Canadian Pacific Railway is one of the wonders of the world" (p. 86) we wait in hushed expectancy until we learn that "the Grand Trunk is destined to play an all-important part in the future development of the Dominion" (p. 102); that "the new transcontinental railway is a magnificent project" (p. 113); and that "the Canadian Northern Railway has secured a dominating position in the Dominion" (p. 129). We have had not a little of seeing ourselves as others see us; here we have an opportunity to see ourselves, through the eyes of another, as we see ourselves.

The breathless haste of the author's journey is responsible for some slips. The trolley cars of Quebec are represented as being known locally as "light railways." It is stated that the Quebec Bridge, whose sad downfall is fresh in our recollection, was to be completed in 1907. A moment's questioning would have prevented such an error. We heartily wish that the author had not

spoken of shooting "Lachine Falls" (p. 35). Who knows but that, on the strength of this, and of the further fact that Goldsmith spoke of the Indians shooting Niagara, we may yet hear of some enterprising "promoter" attempting to attract English capital to a direct grain route by way of Niagara Falls!

Dr. Dove, who is Professor of Geography in the University of Jena, is concerned with an investigation into the economic geography of the British Empire.* A subsequent monograph will deal with the United States. Of the present monograph pages 78-85 are devoted to Canada. His account emphasizes the importance in the country's development of the waterway afforded by the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence river, and touches briefly on the questions of immigration, climate and the grain possibilities of the North-west. He attracts attention to the fact that thus early in Canada's industrial development the cities are increasing at the expense of the general population of the country. It cannot be said that Dr. Dove's treatment of the subject is especially illuminating.

La Terre pour rien, renseignements pratiques sur la colonisation agricole française au Canada. Par Jean du Saguenay. Paris: Librairie Blond & Cie., 1907. Pp. 128.

Is the author who conceals his identity under the pseudonym "Jean du Saguenay" in reality a shrewd immigration agent of the Canadian Government? Is the book an outcome of the Machiavellian subtlety of the Interior Department? The author states that this book is written from the threefold point of view of the prospective colonist, Canada and France. It is, in brief, a plea for French emigration to Canada. There is much exact detail concerning the population and resources of Canada, and the prospective emigrant is advised regarding the ocean steamship lines connecting with Canada, the cost of the ocean voyage, the expenses attendant on setting up farming establishments in Canada, the cost of living and the average wages paid. Evident

* *Die angelsächsischen Riesenreiche. Eine wirthschaftsgeographische Untersuchung.* Von K. Dove. *I. Das britische weltreich.* Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1906. Pp. 95.

care in condensing and assimilating all manner of information bearing on the opportunities in Canada for immigrants is shown. It is, from this standpoint, in reality an immigrants' hand and guide book.

The reasons given for advocating French emigration to Canada are of interest. The present practically stationary condition of French population is ascribed to economic motives limiting the size of the average family. France, it is held, has practically reached the position where no increased population can be supported on its soil. Under such conditions, emigration to Canada, where nature's bounty has been less thoroughly exploited, will, by removing the economic check, permit the development on Canadian soil of a large French-speaking population. At the same time the climate and other conditions existing in the French colonies do not favour French settlement therein.

Canada, it is explained, has great freedom in internal affairs. "Il jouit de l'autonomie la plus large," "La Puissance du Canada .... est une République fédérative dont le président, sous le nom de gouverneur-général, est nommé par le gouvernement britannique mais n'a pas plus de pouvoir que notre président en France" (p. 8). The liberality of the governmental system is shown by the presence of a considerable number of French-Canadians in the Federal Cabinet, presided over by "sir Laurier." One defect, however, is that concerned with the school question in the North-west—"L'égalité absolue qui règne entre les deux races à Québec est dans l'Ouest rompue à notre détriment. En conséquence de mesures que la gouvernement fédérale a eu la faiblesse de ratifier. . . . les écoles publiques sont neutres au point de vue religieux, et l'anglais est la seule langue officielle" (p. 54). In showing the liberality of the naturalization laws the author upholds the idea of double nationality, claiming, erroneously, that the act of naturalization does not imply any repudiation of the country of origin.

The animus of the book appears when it is stated that the colonists, with a view to maintaining their nationality, should be careful to settle near the parishes inhabited by French-Canadians. With this end in view he gives a number of instructive maps indicating the French-Canadian parishes in the North-west. The

animus further appears when he says—"Les ennemis les plus violents de notre race sont les Orangistes, sectes de francs-maçons protestants qui appartiennent en majorité au parti conservateur anglais" (p. 20). Poor Orangemen! He advises the French colonists on no account to settle away from the French centres of population, and he claims that there is a sinister design on the part of certain officials so to direct settlement with a view "d'anglifier les colons de langue française" (p. 108). That the book presents in compendious form a body of information which should be of service in attracting the hard-working, thrifty French farmer is apparent. At the same time, its line of argument attracts attention to the danger of establishing, in Canada, isolated types of settlement, be they of English or of other races. With a view to establishing common Canadian interests it is of the utmost importance that racial influences, instead of being intensified by solid settlement of peoples of given languages in particular localities, should be lessened by the economic and social attrition coming from contact with already established settlements, characterized by the progressiveness which comes from breadth of experience and diversity of origin. While the pride of the French colonist in his language and race are possessions with which no right-minded Canadian would seek to tamper, it is obvious that what Canada needs is a common national life, not settlements of isolated racial units continuing undiminished on Canadian soil the characteristics of their native lands.

The material contained in Mr. Bouchette's book on *L'Indépendance économique du Canada français** differs but slightly from the original form of the articles of which it is composed, and which appeared, in the first instance, in *La Revue Canadienne* (See REVIEW x, 110). The book is a sign of the times in the stress it lays upon the importance of an integrated industrial development. The author has read widely—the progress of his narrative is, at times, impeded by mere mass of reading. It is unfortunate that a book of such size has not an index.

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* *L'Indépendance Économique du Canada Français.* Par Errol Bouchette. Arthabaska, 1906. Pp. 327.

Mr. Porritt* is frankly antagonistic to protection. His attitude towards Canada's protectionist errors is one of extreme sadness. Protectionism is rampant in Canada, and "no government in the Anglo-Saxon world is more committed to protection and to bounties to industry than is that of the Dominion of Canada." The reason for the great development of the bounty system under the Liberal administration he attributes to the favour shown to Nova Scotia and the influence of Mr. Fielding, the Finance Minister. The article is a good critical account of the development of the bounty system and of its cost. At the same time, the unqualified opposition of the author to protection blinds him to the real conditions Canada faces. To speak, as he constantly does, of protection as "largesse" is to neglect the fact that Canada's industrial policy is of necessity influenced by conditions existing in the United States, and the further fact that Canada must pay a price for the development of its diversified resources.

Professor Flux's article on *Canadian Tariff Revision*† presents in a lucid manner the difficulties presented by the complex maximum and minimum arrangements in the most recent revision of the Canadian tariff. It summarizes the important changes without attempting any discussion of principle.

A valuable *Atlas of Canada*‡ has been published by the Department of the Interior, under the able superintendence of Mr. James White, Geographer of the Department. It aims at graphic reproduction of the statistical material compiled from the returns of the census of 1901. Thus, by the aid of colours, a series of maps shows in a most striking way the extent and density of the forest areas, the territory served by each of the railways, the distribution by tribes of the Indians, and even the distribution by origin of the white settlers. There are other

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* *Iron and Steel Bounties in Canada.* By Edward Porritt. (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1907, pp. 193-223.)

† *The Canadian Tariff Revision.* By A. W. Flux. (Economic Journal, June, 1907, pp. 276-283.)

‡ *Atlas of Canada.* Prepared under the direction of James White. [Ottawa, 1906.] Pp. 22. 39 Maps, 44 Diagrams.

maps which by means of one colour in varying shades show degrees. This is the common method of indicating the relief of the earth's surface, and it is applied in this atlas also to show the density of population. It is a pity that a combination map had not also been contrived that would reveal at a glance the density and origin of the population together. Other maps, by means of lines or figures or arbitrary signs, show the locations of minerals, the lines of railway, the telegraph and telephone systems, the lighthouses and sailing-routes, the routes of explorers, and drainage basins, as well as average temperature and precipitation. There are also maps of ten of the largest cities. The diagrams show in the usual way the proportions of imports and exports, statistics of population, value and quantity of farm products, etc. The execution of the atlas is worthy of its design. The maps are clear and legible in their minutest details, and the colour printing has been very carefully done. It is a work of which the Department that produced it may be proud.

The *Canada Year Book for 1906** follows the general plan of that of 1905. The introductory section, dealing with "Events of the Year," attempts a task too ambitious for the space allotted to it. The brief references on the legislation of the year are valuable as attracting attention to what has been done in this regard. At the same time the summaries might have been extended along the lines of the summaries of English legislation and reports appearing in the *Economic Review*. Had tabular summaries of the important legislation of the Dominion and of the provinces been given, it would have been a further improvement. The statistical material given in 1905 is increased in various particulars. The most important additions are those concerned with the census of manufactures of Canada for 1905, and the census of agriculture and population of the northwestern provinces made in 1906. The population returns would have been in much better form for ready use if, in addition to totals, percentages had been given. Thus the real significance of urban growth in the period 1871-1901 would be

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* *The Canada Year Book, 1906.* Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1907. Pp. xlvi, 515.

more adequately understood if the comparative percentages of the urban and of the rural population in the periods in question had been given. As it is, the statistics are a mere reprint of the material already available in the census summaries. In the statistics dealing with banking, the usefulness of the Year Book would be increased by giving a tabular summary of the reserves of the banks, the details concerning which are buried in a general summary. The significance of the table on page 378, giving the "reserve" funds of the banks, would be rendered clearer by stating that this means "rest," not "reserve," in the technical sense. It is true that this distinction is brought out in a general summary on page 375; but the casual reader of the table on page 378 might well misunderstand its significance. The table (on page 379) of the average circulation of Dominion notes, during the period 1884-1906, puts much valuable information in compendious form. The real status of these notes would be made clear if details were given showing the actual composition of the reserve carried against them.

The task of the reviewer of the *Canadian Annual Review** is rendered easy by the fact that the careful summaries attract praise rather than blame. It is in harmony with the steadily increasing importance of transportation problems that seventy pages (pp. 93-162) are devoted to these questions. This and the section dealing with water power and electrical development are exceptionally valuable to one who would be acquainted with the essential facts of these much discussed questions. At the same time it must be noted that in the summary dealing with the power situation the compiler is less successful than usual in excluding the appearance of bias. The summary of the essential economic and political facts of Canada's development during the year covered afford a plentiful supply of raw material for the economic and political historian.

The rapid development of the Canadian railway network

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* *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs.* By J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1907. Pp. xvi, 659.

and the large amount of activity expended in the improvement of Canadian transportation ways have attracted much attention of late to such matters in Canada. The following summary of the important articles dealing with the public policy, economic and engineering phases of the problem may be found useful.

Public Policy.—The Canadian Railway Commission. By J. G. G. Kerry. (Engineering Magazine, August, 1907.) *Passenger rate regulation and the Canadian Parliament.* By S. J. McLean. (Railroad Gazette, March 8th, 1907.) *Some recent decisions of the Canadian Railway Commission.* By S. J. McLean. (Railway Age, November 22nd, 1907.) Mr. Kerry gives an account of the powers of the Commission. In the second and third articles are discussed some of the factors to be considered in connection with applying the two-cent rate, and the Commission's action in cases concerned with international and with water competition.

Railway Expansion.—New railroad construction in Canada and the North-west. By Day Allen Willey (Scientific American, July 6th, 1907). *Electric railway development in eastern Canada.* By Patrick Dubec (Street Railway Journal, July 6th, 1907). *Electric railway development in Ontario.* By R. J. Clark (Street Railway Journal, July 6th, 1907). The first of these articles gives an interesting descriptive account of the railway expansion in the North-west. The other two articles are very valuable in the light of the increasing importance of electric railways as freight carriers, as well as of their competition for suburban passenger traffic.

Canals.—Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor. (Albany, New York, 1905.) *The Georgian Bay Canal.* By J. A. McDonald (Engineering News, October 3rd, 1907). *The canal system of Canada* (Railroad Gazette, February 15th, 1907). *Mechanical canal locks in Canada.* By Walter J. Francis (Engineering News, July 18th, 1907). *The St. Lawrence route.* By S. J. McLean (Railway Age, March 1st, 8th, 15th and April 5th, 1907). The report of the New York State Engineer, which, like most public documents, appears somewhat tardily, has a two-volume appendix dealing with the history of the canals of New York State. The second of these

volumes contains an account of the Canadian canal system which is in the main a reprint, by permission, of Mr. T. C. Keefer's paper before the Royal Society in 1893. Mr. McDonald's article is concerned with the facts brought out by the Government survey of the Georgian Bay Canal route. The unsigned article in the Railroad Gazette is not critical. It is, for example, incorrect, in stating that Mr. J. J. Hill urged Canadians to build the Trent Valley Canal. It was in connection with the Georgian Bay Canal that his admonition was given. The articles on the St. Lawrence route are descriptive and critical and deal with the economic, engineering and transportation features of the route from Lake Superior to the sea. Mr. Francis, in an illustrated article, puts in short compass an excellent account of the Peterborough hydraulic lock.

Canada's industrial development has attracted attention in the field of more or less fugitive writing. A few of the titles, ringing the changes on the theme, "Canada the Country of the Twentieth Century," may be cited:

The twentieth century is Canada's. By Agnes C. Laut. (World's Work, February 1907.) *Resources of Canada.* (Harper's Weekly, June 22nd, 1907.) *Western Canada: its resources and possibilities.* By John W. Dafoe. (American Review of Reviews, June, 1907.) *Industrial development of Canada.* (American Machinist, volume 29, no. 44.) *Ontario Steel trade and the Canadian tariff.* (Economist, October 19th, 1907.) *Stampede to North-west for cheap homes.* By Emerson Hough. (Outing, January and February, 1907.) *Canadian trade with China.* By J. Waddell. (Canadian Magazine, May, 1907.)

Summary Report of the Geological Survey Department of Canada for the Calendar year 1906. Ottawa, 1906. Pp. 206.

Geological Survey of Canada, Section of Mines, Annual Report on the Mineral Industries of Canada for 1905. Ottawa, 1907. Pp. 177.

Mineral Production of Canada, 1906. Ottawa, 1907. Pp. 15.

Evolution of the Falls of Niagara. By J. W. Spencer. Ottawa, 1907. Pp. 490, maps and plates.

In the Summary Report of the Geological Survey brief accounts are given of the work of the twenty-four field parties sent out during the summer, beginning with the Yukon and British Columbia on the west, and ending with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia on the east. In the Klondike, Mr. McConnell, with his assistants, measured up the volume and gold contents of the high level gravels along Hunker and Bonanza creeks, and he states that there are still tens of millions of cubic yards of low grade but workable gravels in the region. Mr. Cairnes explored a portion of the Yukon south of Whitehorse, where a great number of gold and silver claims have recently been taken up. The anthracite and bituminous coal seams near Whitehorse were examined and found to be of importance.

Mr. LeRoy carried on surveys in the New Westminster district and Texada Island, where building stones and important copper deposits occur; and Mr. Leach examined the Telqua coal region, which will be of importance in the near future because the new transcontinental railway will pass close by. Mr. Camsell reports on the Similkameen district in southwestern British Columbia, where lignite and copper ores occur; while Mr. Brock continued his work in the adjoining Rossland region. He states that Rossland has produced 2,247,295 tons of ore, containing gold, silver, and copper valued at $34,879,239. The small but important areas of coal-bearing cretaceous rocks caught in longitudinal valleys between the eastern ranges of the Rocky Mountains are reported on by Mr. Dowling, who finds numerous small basins of excellent coal.

The soils and drift deposits of the western prairie provinces are reported upon by Mr. Chalmers and Dr. Macoun, and the soils along the lower Saskatchewan and Nelson rivers, near the route of the transcontinental railway, by Mr. McInnes, who finds the bed of old lake Agassiz with its glacial silts the most promising farming region, the rest of the country examined having rocky surfaces of Archaean or early Palaeozoic rock.

The country to the east of this is reported on by Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. Collins, who describe the usual rocky lake country of the Archaean. Dr. Bell refers briefly to the Cobalt silver district, and Dr. Barlow to the region just east of lake Temiscaming, which is spelled Timiskaming, according to the arbitrary change suggested by the committee on geographical nomenclature. It is time this committee was brought to task for making purposeless changes in the spelling of names which have been on the maps for a generation. The pronunciation of the new spelling given does not differ from the old one.

The explorations carried on by members of the survey in southern Ontario and the eastern provinces cover in greater detail ground that has already been surveyed, and require little mention here. The most important change made by the later work is to transfer a series of rocks in New Brunswick from the Carboniferous to the Devonian.

The report of the Section of Mines for 1905 gives details of the production of the various metals and other economic minerals for that year. As the statistics were referred to in last year's REVIEW, there is not much requiring notice in this report. Illustrations are given of the zinc smelter at Frank, Alberta, which marks the beginning of a new mineral industry for Canada.

The statistics for 1906, published subject to revision, show an increase of over 15 per cent. as compared with 1905, in spite of the large falling off in gold, due to the exhaustion of the richest of the Klondike placers. Advances of from 1 1-4 to 3 1-2 million dollars in value are shown in the production of copper, nickel, silver, coal, and Portland cement. The total value of metals produced was $42,979,629, in which gold counted for $12,023,932, copper for $10,994,095, nickel $8,948,-834, silver $5,723,097, lead $3,066,094, and pig iron from Canadian ore $1,724,400. The non-metallic products amounted to $36,720,419, in which the largest part was played by coal ($19,945,032), Portland cement ($3,164,807) and ordinary building materials ($7,200,000). The whole mineral produc-

tion of Canada totals in value $80,000,048, nearly four times the total of ten years ago.

The volume of nearly 500 pages devoted by Dr. J. W. Spencer to Niagara Falls and its related problems represents the latest work done in that very interesting region, and is distinctly the most important publication on the subject. Dr. Spencer has not only gone over the old ground very carefully, but has carried out soundings in various parts of the river and its rapids, and has had wells drilled at points near by, to determine the old drainage channels of the region. Some important new features are brought out, among them the fact that the international boundary runs only 235 or 260 feet from Goat Island, so that the greater part of the water flowing over the falls is on the Canadian side of the boundary. The importance of this in connection with the development of power at Niagara is evident. The rate of recession of the horseshoe fall, as shown by successive surveys, is 4.54 feet per annum, but of late this has fallen off to 2.2 feet; and owing to artificial removal of a considerable percentage of the water the rate will probably fall off still more in future. The length of time required for Niagara Falls to cut its way back from Queenston Heights to its present position is estimated by Dr. Spencer at 39,000 years, much the greater part of the distance having been cut by a comparatively small river representing the drainage of the Erie basin only. The book is well illustrated with maps and photo-engravings, and should attract much attention. Some of the theoretical parts, however, may not command universal acceptance, and it will be interesting to observe how other students of the region receive them.

Report of the Bureau of Mines, Ontario, vol. xv, part i, 1906; part ii, Clay and the Clay Industry of Canada. Toronto, 1906. Pp. 218, 127, maps.

Report of the Bureau of Mines, Ontario, vol. xvi, part i, 1907. Toronto, 1907. Pp. 248, map.

Annual Report of the Minister of Mines (British Columbia) for the year ending 31st December, 1906. Victoria, B.C., 1907. Pp. 276, map.

Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, 1906. Halifax, 1907. Pp. 92.

Mining Operations in the Province of Quebec, for the year 1906. Quebec, 1907. Pp. 59, map.

The Bureau of Mines of Ontario is falling behind in its date of publication as compared with earlier years, owing no doubt to the great increase of work in the department since the opening of the Cobalt silver region. Part i, vol. xv, contains the usual departmental reports on statistics and the condition of the mines of the province, with special reports on particular regions. The statistics will be given later, with those of vol. xvi. The special reports include those on natural gas and petroleum, by Mr. Coste, the best authority on this subject in Canada; on the geology of the Mattagami valley, by Mr. Kerr, and on its agricultural resources, by Mr. Henderson; on the Animikie Iron Range, by Mr. Silver; and on the iron ranges of eastern Michipicoten, by Dr. Coleman. The Second Part of the report for 1906 is by Mr. M. B. Baker, on clay and the clay industry of Ontario, beginning with an account of the different clays and shales used for brick-making in the province, and then taking up the various brickyards. The preliminary geological classification and the theoretical statements connected with it are quite at variance with modern authorities on Pleistocene geology.

Volume xvi, part i, is arranged as in former reports, beginning with a statistical review. The chief mineral products are valued as follows:

	1905	1906
Silver	$1,372,877	$3,689,286
Nickel	3,354,934	3,839,419
Copper	688,993	960,813
Pig iron	3,909,527	4,554,247
Portland cement	1,783,451	2,381,014
Common brick	1,937,500	2,157,000
Petroleum	898,545	761,546

The total output of metals in 1905 was $10,201,010, and in 1906 $13,353,080, and of all mineral products $17,854,296 and $22,388,383 respectively, showing a very large increase in the later year. It should be mentioned that in estimating the

value of the various metals the Bureau of Mines uses the spot value and not the ultimate value of the refined metals, as is done by the Geological Survey. If the value of the refined metals is taken the total output of the province amounts to $33,905,574. In its product of silver and of nickel Ontario far surpassed the other provinces of Canada, and, in the case of nickel, all other countries in the world. There are seven special reports, by Mr. Knight on oil and gas in Kent, by Dr. Coleman on iron ranges east of lake Nipigon, by Mr. Moore on other iron ranges in the same region, by Mr. Fraleck on iron pyrites in Ontario, by Prof. Brock on the Larder lake gold district, by Prof. Miller on the lake Abitibi gold deposits, and by Messrs. Miller and Knight on the Grenville-Hastings unconformity. The report on the Larder lake gold district gives little hope that many of the hundreds of gold locations taken up in the recent excitement will prove of real value.

The British Columbia report is of the kind we have grown to expect, neatly got up, beautifully illustrated, with well arranged statistics, and detailed accounts of all the mining districts and working mines; but with comparatively little in the way of scientific exploration. Reports by Dr. Ells on the Queen Charlotte islands and by Mr. Leach on the Telqua mining district, giving accounts of coal deposits, etc., are borrowed from the reports of the Ottawa Survey. The only bit of independent geological or exploratory work is an account of a journey from Essington to Edmonton, by Mr. Robertson, Provincial Mineralogist. The route taken was by Peace river. Coal areas were examined and comparatively small stretches of good agricultural land were found, but not much timber of value. The building of the transcontinental railway will open up part of the region traversed. The distance from Victoria to Edmonton and back by the route adopted was 3,120 miles, of which 840 was by rail on the return journey, the rest being by steamboat, canoe and pack train over regions seldom travelled.

The Nova Scotian report begins with a summary of the mineral production, prefaced by "so far as I have been able to learn." The more important items are as follows:

Gold	oz.	15,046
Iron ore	tons	648,042
Coal	"	5,866,605
Coke	"	508,082
Gypsum	"	247,840
Limestone	"	400,584

With the exception of gold, which fell off about 500 oz., there is a large increase in all the items. No valuation is made, but the gold, if put at $20 per ounce, yields about $300,000, so that Nova Scotia comes next after the Yukon and British Columbia as a gold-producing province; while it is first in coal production. The rest of the report presents scarcely anything of general interest, being a description of mines, with tables of production, etc.

The report of the mining department of Quebec is the smallest of all the provincial reports. It begins with an account of explorations by the Superintendent of Mines, Mr. Obalski, in the Pontiac and Chibogomo districts, where there are Huronian and Keewatin rocks like those of the Cobalt region of Ontario. Thus far no important ore deposits have been found in them. In the statistics asbestos is of greatest importance, 61,675 tons having been produced, with a value of $2,143,653. Other items which reached a value of over $500,000 are cement, brick, and granite.

V. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE

Annual Archaeological Report, 1906. Toronto, 1907. Pp. 50.

Huron Village Sites. By Andrew F. Hunter. Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education for the year 1906. Toronto, 1907. Pp. 56.

Boas Anniversary Volume. Anthropological Papers written in honour of Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University. New York, 1906 [1907]. Pp. xix, 559.

Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30). Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. Part i, A—M. Washington, D.C., 1907. Pp. ix, 972.

Dr. David Boyle's *Archaeological Report* for 1906, besides the usual chronicle of specimens (some 750, including a large numing the year, contains notes on pottery, flints, slate gorgets, stone ber from Australia and New Guinea) added to the Museum durpipes, bone and horn (combs, pipe, "hide-scraper") shell gorgets and beads, pemmican bags like *parfleches,* European ornaments (silver brooches, crosses, etc.), and a primitive loom from the South Pacific. The Museum now possesses a very fine clay pot from a mound in the Attiwandaron area near Port Colborne, whence also six well preserved skulls were also obtained. The remains indicated the burial of at least 50 persons. Interesting is a celtoid slate figured on page 20, upon which some member of the "Δ K E" fraternity has exercised his art. A valuable specimen from Ontario is a slate gorget upon which are incised many diagonally-straight and a few curved lines. Among some three hundred other slate tablets, gorgets and pendants in the Museum, one other only is decorated with any sort of lines. So far, in Ontario, no "elephant pipes" have turned up, but bird-pipes continue to be found. The shells used in making beads, etc., "were not native to Ontario, or even to Canada, but were procured from the coast of Florida, probably in exchange for native copper, Huronian slate, furs or other material found in our own coun-

try." In connection with the discussion of objects of European manufacture found within the Indian areas, Dr. Boyle mentions, on the authority of a highly intelligent Ojibwa woman, the fact that "Indians as a matter of taste prefer silver to gold." Pages 41-47 of the *Report* are occupied by Mr. W. H. C. Phillips's description and reproduction of *Rock Paintings at Temagami District,* a brief but rather noteworthy paper. These paintings, now faded and washed-out, were originally a dull red, and consisted of two series, each covering an area of over thirty feet in length by two in width, and so situated as to give the impression of having been done "by a person standing on the ice or in a canoe." These paintings contain human, animal and conventional figures. They resemble those of Lake Massanoga, described in the *Report* for 1893-4, and were probably "done by the same people." The frontispiece to the *Report* is a valuable archaeological map of Ontario, the work of Dr. Boyle, showing the location of trails and portages, village-sites and camping-grounds, earthworks, kitchen-middens, ash-beds, mounds, single and communal burials, quarries, flint work-places, painted rocks and pictographs, pottery, stone pipes, surface finds, iron tomahawks, etc. The *Report* for 1906 is not as bulky as some of its predecessors, but it is very good.

Mr. A. F. Hunter's *Huron Village Sites* is chiefly devoted to brief descriptions of forty-three such sites in the township of Flos, and fifty-four in the township of Vespra (both in Simcoe county, Ontario), with maps and topographical data. These villages may be classed as historic Huron, prehistoric Huron, and pre-Huron. In Vespra nearly all the sites belong to the early period, i.e., "before or about the time of the arrival of the French," as shown by the rare or occasional occurrence of European relics, and but three are pre-Huron, showing no evidences of fortification. In Flos the early Huron and pre-Huron sites together constitute about two-thirds of the whole; the number of the latter is, however, not large, but they are readily recognized by the presence of their gouges, roller pestles, stone axes, etc. In Flos thirteen of the thirty-seven Huron sites yield French relics in small quantities, and ten of fifty such in Vespra. From

Flos six Huron bone-pits are reported, and seven from Vespra. Pottery fragments are abundant at nearly all sites. The Huron sites are distributed along high ground, being absent from the low-lying sections. In size these sites range "from two or three camps to towns covering fifteen acres." The habitat of the Hurons was "the hilliest tract in the centre of the small inter-lake peninsula," and the author styles them "veritable Montagnais, or mountaineers, as well as agriculturalists, entirely different in their mode of life from the nomadic Algonquins, who followed the rivers and lakes, camping mostly on the shores" (p. 19). Besides Flos and Vespra, Mr. Hunter has studied previously, in other reports, the townships of Tiny, Tay, Medonte, Oro and Orillia, and he has catalogued altogether some 370 village sites of the Huron country, "fair samples of all others that may be found." The greater part of these he has visited personally, some of them quite frequently. Mr Hunter thinks that certain resemblances can be traced ethnically, linguistically and physically between the Hurons and the Sioux and Algonquins,—but this is dangerous ground. He goes so far as to hold that "the Huron tribes derived their origin from the interaction of the Sioux and Algonquian peoples" (p. 6), and recognizes "a time when the the Sioux culture invaded the forest belt and overran Algonquian ground, producing the mixed Huron cultures of later centuries." Pages 9-18 of Mr. Hunter's report treat of decorative art on clay pipes of the Huron tribes. It appears that "the prevailing patterns amongst Hurons, Petuns and Algonquins were almost identical for the same period, only a few national or tribal differences being apparent." The author does not believe that the patterns and designs are largely due to contact with the early French. The best made pipes are found along the areas of closest contact of the Hurons and Algonquins,—"the Hurons brought the tobacco-plant and its cultivation, while the Algonquins, possessing the ingenuity to fashion good pipes, brought this ingenuity to bear upon the production of good work" (p. 11).

The *Boas Anniversary Volume,* a worthy tribute to the great American anthropologist (the writer of these lines had the good fortune to be the first student to take the doctorate under

him in Anthropology), contains the following articles relating directly or indirectly to the ethnology of Canada: Alexander F. Chamberlain, *Terms for the Body, its Parts, Organs, etc., in the Language of the Kootenay Indians of South-eastern British Columbia* (pp. 94-107); George Hunt, *The River Chiefs, A Kwakiutl Story* (108-136); John R. Swanton, *A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization* (166-178); George G. Heye, *Ceremonial Stone Chisel from North-western America* (335-336); James Teit, *Notes on the Tahltau Indians of British Columbia* (337-349); Harlan I. Smith, *A Vast Neglected Field for Archaeological Research* (367-372); O. Abraham and E. M. von Hornbostel, *Phonographierte Indianermelodien aus British Columbia* (447-474); Capt. George Comer, *Whaling in Hudson Bay, with Notes on Southampton Island* (475-484); Capt. James S. Mutch, *Whaling in Pond's Bay* (485-500). The last two articles contain some interesting items concerning the Eskimo of far northern Canada. Dr. Chamberlain's contribution is an etymological-psychological study of ninety-two words in a little known Indian language. Interesting is the development of the idea of "mind," based upon that of "heart" with the Kootenay. Mr. George Hunt's *Kwakiutl Story* gives the Indian text, interlinear translation, and synopsis of "the true story of the two chiefs, who were true friends in the beginning, and turned out to be worst enemies at the end." In his discussion of the *Theory of Social Organization* Dr. Swanton protests against "the assumption that a division of society into sharply marked totemic bodies with descent in either direction (paternal or maternal) was necessarily or even probably its primitive status." The sociological phenomena of the Indian tribes of the North Pacific coast forbid the dogma of exclusive patriarchy or matriarchy as sole original type. Mr. G. G. Heye describes a chisel of "very dark green, almost black, hard basaltic rock," the circular end of which is carved to represent a human face. The implement came originally, in all probability, from Vancouver Island, although erroneously classed in the Jones archaeological collection in New Orleans as from the South Sea Islands. Mr. James Teit's *Notes on the Tahltau Indians* treat of habitat, villages, intermarriage, industries, habitations, dress,

food-supply, fishing, transportation and travel, war, games, picture-writing, burial customs, social organization, etc. These Indians are a western extension of the Athapascan Nahane, and were probably numerous in earlier days, although there are but two hundred of them now alive. The active and adaptive Tahltaus "have assimilated the customs of the whites to a marked degree, and have copied their style of dress and their manner of living." Moreover, "a few of them have picked up a little reading and writing, and most of the younger men speak very fair English." In this region, besides dug-outs (acquired from the Tlingit) and canoes made from cotton-wood logs, boats made from moose-hide stretched on a framework of wooden ribs were in use,—bark was employed earlier for this purpose. Among the Tahltaus chiefs do not exercise any very great influence. Descent is maternal (the Casca are said to be organized paternally). The *Vast Neglected Field for Archaeological Research* emphasized by Professor Smith is "the territory roughly included in the area known as 'the great plains,' 'the plateau region,' and 'the barren lands.'" Within this area lies the Kitunahan stock; likewise a large portion of the Athapascan and Algonquian stocks, besides others in the United States. Archaeological and ethnological investigations in this area are very much needed. Drs. Abraham and von Hornbostel, in their article on phonographic records of Indian melodies from British Columbia, give the music of 43 songs (dancing, 19; religious, 2; woman's, 2; lyric, 10; medicine, 3; gambling, 2; others, 5) from the Thompson River Indians, a Salishan tribe. No complicated periodic structure occurs, and there is no fixed musical characteristic for each individual type. The rhythmic structure, however, is complicated.

The Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, of which the first half appeared early in 1907, is the result of the labours of the officials of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with the co-operation of a number of outside specialists, and is the first step towards presenting (as subsequent revised issues will do) "a complete summary of existing knowledge respecting the aborigines of northern America." Besides articles of an archaeological, ethnological, folkloric, historical and geographical char-

acter on the Indian stocks and their tribal and other subdivisions, the *Handbook* treats of their arts, aesthetics, industries, etc., in general and in particular. Included are also brief biographies of noted Indians, male and female; also words of aboriginal origin that have found their way into English. Nowhere else, in any language, can there be found so much valuable and accurate information concerning the American aborigines of the north. Appended is the latest section of the Powellian map of "Linguistic Families of American Indians North of Mexico," which is detailed enough to show the Salishan "island" within the Kootenay area, at the Columbia lakes. Many of the general articles treat more or less of the Indian tribes of the Dominion. In this first volume the following Indian stocks of the Dominion are entered and described: Algonquian, Athapascan, Beothickan, Chimmesyan (Tsimshian), Eskimoan, Iroquoian, Kitunahan (Kootenay). Important articles on tribes of various stocks within the borders of Canada are those on the Abenaki, Assiniboins, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Haida, Huron, Micmac, Mohawk, Montagnais, etc. At the end of the account of each tribe is given an alphabetical list of all known synonyms, with references to the literature of the subject. To all important articles the initials of the writers are appended, so that it is possible to know who is responsible for the information recorded. The arrangement of the articles in the *Handbook* is alphabetic, with many cross-references, making it easy to use. It is safe to say that, for the general public and the world of scholars alike, this will long remain one of the most important of all the works published by the Bureau of Ethnology, the investigations of whose experts have added so much to our knowledge of the Indian.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Haida Portrait Mask. By Henry Balfour. (Man, Vol. vii, pp. 1-2.)

The Wyandot Indians. By R. E. Merwin. (Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc., Vol. ix, 1906, pp. 8-19.)

Om Eskimoernas härkomst och Amerikas befolkande. Af Axel Hamberg. (Ymer, Vol. xxvii, pp. 15-48.)

The Great Déné Race. By A. G. Morice. (Anthropos, Vol. ii, pp. 1-34, 181-196.)

Congrès International des Américanistes. XV^e Session à Québec, 1906. Two vols. [1907.] Pp. lxv, 412; 468.

Professor Balfour describes a portrait-mask of the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands carved some forty years ago out of a solid block of wood,—"one of the most successful examples of realistic carving which I have hitherto seen from the hands of a savage sculptor." This mask is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford). Dr. Dally, who, in 1868, obtained the mask from a Haida Indian, said that it was intended as a portrait of the artist's wife and was "a good likeness."

R. E. Merwin's historical sketch of *The Wyandot Indians* belongs to the ethnological literature of the Dominion since the Kansas Indians of this tribe are ancestrally of Canadian origin. They are now more "white" than "red,"—indeed, the provisional governor of the Territory of Kansas in 1853 was a member of the Wyandots through his mother. These western Wyandots numbered 354 in 1902. The Wyandots (i.e., *Wendat,* "of one speech") are the *Hurons* ("shock-heads") of the French.

Axel Hamberg, in his discussion of *The Origin of the Eskimo and the Peopling of America,* treats of the uniformity of Eskimo culture, the age of the Eskimo settlements in Greenland and north-eastern America, Eskimo culture in the Arctic Archipelago, theories concerning Eskimo culture and its origin, the ethnographic position of the Eskimo, the first appearance of man in America, the ice age, primitive migration routes into America. According to Hamberg, America may have received its early population partly by way of Bering Straits in the north-west and partly by way of an ancient land-bridge in the north-east. The variety of American ethnologic phenomena suggests even other contributions, e.g., from the Pacific islands. The primitive seat of the Eskimo was probably in Alaska. Father Morice's monograph on *The Great Déné Race* is continued in *Anthropos* for 1907, the chief topics considered being the environment and the relation of the people to it, the varieties of dress, customs, etc., prevailing in the Déné country, the diversity of character and disposition found among the Indians, etc. Very curious, indeed,

is the range from the "timid Hare" to the "cruel Apache." From Father Morice's account of the mental and moral character of the Athapascan Indians, we learn of their receptiveness, fondness for exaggeration, shrewdness, cruelty, honesty, etc., features that sometimes appear in quite paradoxical or contradictory fashion, though such things are perhaps to be expected in "a child-like people." In the south (e.g., Navaho) "better economic conditions prevail, because of a more satisfactory climate." On page 182 the author cites from Hearne an excellent example in Indian life of the truth of the saying that "necessity is the mother of invention."

The Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists, which was held at Quebec, naturally contains a large number of ethnological papers relating to the aborigines of the Dominion. Of articles of a comparative nature, or of more or less general scope, the following may be noted here: Dr. Franz Boas, *Ethnological problems in Canada* (vol. i, pp. 151-160); Dr. J. E. Roy, *Principes de gouvernement chez les Indiens du Canada* (161-178); Dr. E. Gagnon, *Les sauvages de l'Amérique et l'art musical* (179-188); Cyrus Thomas, *Some suggestions in regard to primary Indian migrations in North America* (189-204); Dr. C. Wissler, *Diffusion of culture in the plains of North America* (vol. ii, pp. 39-52); Dr. A. L. Kroeber, *The ceremonial organization of the plains Indians of North America* (53-63). The paper of Dr. Roy on *Principles of government among Canadian Indians* treats chiefly of the Hurons and contains nothing new, the information contained being extracted from the older authorities. Dr. Gagnon, who, in his discussion of *The music of the American Indians,* reproduces several songs of the Ojibwa, Hurons, etc., concludes that "the religious songs of the modern Indians of the Province of Quebec are principally adaptations of Gregorian melodies or the airs of French cantiques,"—thus the music of some Huron songs is absolutely French. The non-religious songs, however, although also influenced from the side of the European, have more originality. He also believes that "it was only under the tonal influence of European music that the songs of the aborigines assumed an artistic rhythmic and model form."

Dr. Boas' article on *Ethnological problems in Canada* points out the most important gaps in our knowledge of the Canadian aborigines, and indicates the chief problems yet to be solved by the ethnologist. The languages of many of these peoples are less known than their physical types; and about the mythological and religious ideas of others we know practically nothing. Among the problems demanding investigation are the ancient relation of the Algonkian to the Athapascan (the former having been originally an eastern stock, whose distribution westward is quite recent), the ethnology of the Mackenzie river region (the oldest form of culture in this district being found in the heart of the Mackenzie basin), the distribution of pottery (never made on the Pacific coast, except on the shores of Bering Sea, where Asiatic influence extended), the relation of the Tsimshian of northern British Columbia to their neighbours (the Tsimshian, paratively new arrivals on the Pacific coast, originally participated in the southern plateau culture), the ethnographical position of the Aleutians (a re-examination of the shell-heaps is desirable), the development of Salishan culture and its former extension. Disregarding, for the purposes of greater generalization, linguistic classification by vocabulary, and using morphological data, Dr. Boas recognizes a number of groups: "The Eskimo appear as a group by themselves; the Athapascan or Tinneh appear related to the Tlingit of Alaska and to the Haida; the Tsimshian represent an isolated group; the Salish and Wakashan appear as closely related, and perhaps more distantly related to the Algonquin; the Kootenay takes its place with the Shoshone group; while the Iroquois appears in its type as distantly associated with the same group."

Prof. Cyrus Thomas, in his discussion of *Primary Indian migrations in North America,* assumes that man's first appearance in North America was "most likely in post-Glacial times," that "one original point of entry, and the chief one, was on the north-west coast," and that at the time of his entry he was in "a degree of culture somewhat above the lowest grade of savagery." There were "slow outspreadings from certain initial points," and; "as the groups, small at first, thus proceeded, the tribes and stocks were slowly evolved." In both the Pacific and Atlantic

sections "the chief early migrations . . . . have been from the north-west towards the south and south-east." The converging point of the streams "appears to be the inhospitable region stretching from the western shore of Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains." From this region two streams flowed southward, and, "parted by the great treeless plains, one moved southward along the mountain skirt and through the mountain passes to the Pacific side; the other, turning to the south-east, passed into the Atlantic region." One section, through which many of the slowly moving streams of population found their way south and south-east, was the region north and north-west of Lake Superior. By this route Professor Thomas, who rejects the new theory of their eastern origin, thinks the Siouan stock came. The Athapascan and Shoshonian (and Aztecan) tribes came from the north, "the pristine home of the Nahuatlan group was probably in British Columbia." Environmental modification has played its important rôle in the differentiation of tribes, etc. Professor Thomas's views regarding Athapascan migrations do not accord with those of Dr. Goddard referred to elsewhere. Dr. Clark Wissler's paper on the *Diffusion of culture in the plains of North America* sums up the principal characteristics of "the buffalo area" of the great plains between the Mississippi and Rockies, and from the Rio Grande to the Saskatchewan. In their material culture the most striking things are the teepee and the camp-circle; of their less material culture notable features are the "sun dance," societies for men, use of a circular shield as a medicine object, worship of the buffalo. Remarkable also is "the almost complete absence of a clan organization." Dr. Wissler is of opinion that "the true Plains culture is of recent origin," and that "no one group of people on the plains can as yet be set down as the originators of Plains culture,"—for there seems to have been "a constant giving and taking until the whole area reached a general level of uniformity, bearing important differences, it is true, but differences that seem to be normal tribal variations rather than distinctive characteristics" (p. 49). An interesting feature of this area is the existence from time to time of groups of friendly tribes ("confederations," like the Blackfoot, Sarcee, etc.). Some of the tribes acted often as "go-

betweens." The failure of the Plains culture to make its way into other areas "may be due to the lack of affiliation with the surrounding peoples." The Canadian Indians concerned at some time or other with this culture, and belonging to one or another of the groups, are Blackfoot, Sarcee, Plains, Cree, Assiniboins, and some western divisions of the Ojibwa. The Plains culture altogether is "a good illustration of how a people in a definite geographical area may, in spite of hostilities and great linguistic differences, give and take in culture until a definite type is evolved." In his study of *The ceremonial organization of the plains Indians* Dr. A. L. Kroeber treats of the "sun dance," and ceremonies performed by societies or associations of persons ("dog society," "soldiers," "fool society," "buffalo society" of women, etc.), having often distinctions or degrees within the society. Concerning these societies much more knowledge is desirable, for they are much less known than is the "sun dance," which appears to be "a comparatively simple, straightforward, public and spectacular ceremony, completed within a few days, and, except for its esoteric and symbolic portions, readily seen and largely understood by an ordinary observer" (p. 55). Everywhere it seems that the "sun dance" is distinct from the society-ceremonies. Dr. Kroeber thinks that, with respect to these societies, we may conclude that the Mandan-Hidatsa-Ankara-Crow group "can probably be regarded as the principal centre of influence among the Plains tribes."

After these articles of general character reference may be made to two others of a comparative nature, viz., Miss M. W. Beckwith's *Dance forms of the Moqui and Kwakiutl Indians* (vol. ii, pp. 79-114), and W. Jochelson's *Past and present subterranean dwellings of the tribes of north-eastern Asia and north-western America* (115-128). Miss Beckwith, whose article is provided with an extensive bibliography, compares in detail the dances of the Moqui Indians of Arizona and the Kwakiutl of British Columbia, noting resemblances and differences. It would appear that the Moqui dances are organized as a clan prayer for rain and harvest, and emphasize the clan tie; they are also symbolic and formal and based upon the idea of sex. The Kwakiutl dances are organized as a means of

social rank by the personal display of an inherited possession, being based upon wealth; they emphasize the individual initiation; they tend to mark out the individual and to represent realistically the actual scenes which the supernatural being impersonated is supposed to be recalling. Common to both Moqui and Kwakiutl are masks, secret societies, and a fool brotherhood which furnishes comic by-play for the dances; but with the Moqui the "fool" is merely a glutton and a buffoon. Dr. Jochelson briefly compares the underground houses of the Ainu, Giliak, Kamchadals, Koryak, Chukchee and Yukaghir, with those of the Aleuts and Eskimo, and Indians of the North Pacific coast. The conclusion reached is that "in the construction of their dwellings, the Koryak, Kamchadal and the other so-called Palaeo-Asiatic tribes bear more resemblance to the Aleut and Eskimo, especially to the Eskimo of Alaska, and only in a certain degree to the Indians of the interior of North America." But, while in their material culture these Siberian peoples stand closer to the Aleuts and the Eskimo than to the Indians of north-western America, in their religious ideas, myths, traditions, etc., the reverse is the case. This, according to the author, is explained by the fact that "the intercourse of the littoral Siberian tribes of the North Pacific with the Indians was of older date than their relations with the Eskimo." The "Bering sea culture" is becoming more and more important to the student of the origin and development of the arts, institutions and ideas of the peoples of the North Pacific area. The cessation of American Indian influence on the Palaeo-Asiatics would seem to have resulted from the invasion of the Eskimo. Another paper relating to the aborigines of the North Pacific coast is that of Dr. C. F. Newcombe on *The Haida Indians* (vol. i, pp. 135-149), which treats of their history as recorded by the whites from 1774 to 1818, traditional origin and history, archaeology, physical characteristics, population and language. The Haidas in the Queen Charlotte Islands now number about 600, as compared with 8,400, the author's estimate for the end of the eighteenth century. The diminution is now, however, at a standstill, "through improvements in morals and sanitation," and there are also "both a lessened death-rate, especially

among children, and a higher birth-rate" (p. 147). The Haidas borrowed not a little from the Coast Indians (*e.g.*, shaman's songs from the Tlingit, dances and crests from the Tsimshian). There are no rock paintings, and the only two rock-carvings in Haida land may be of Tlingit origin. The language and mythology of the Haidas are now being thoroughly studied by Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The following papers relate to the Indians of Athapascan stock: P. E. Goddard, *Assimilation by environment as illustrated by Athapascan peoples* (vol. i, pp. 337-359); Father A. G. Morice, *La femme chez les Dénés* (361-394); Father Legoff, *Note sur la langue des Dénés* (vol. ii, pp. 217-223). The last gives a brief outline of phonetics, and morphology of Athapascan speech. The author calls attention to the presence of many words with contradictory meanings (e.g., *ouzédlann,* "to believe" and "not to believe"), or such slight differences of intonation, etc., as make distinction practically impossible for the unitiated. There is no need for the comparisons of Déné words with Celtic (p. 222). Father Morice's article on *Woman among the Dénés* discusses the life of woman among these Indians from the cradle to the grave, customs relating to birth, menstruation, puberty, marriage, etc. With the Dénés, as the rites in vogue suggest, puberty is a second birth. Several forms of marriage are known among them, that by mutual consent of the man and woman being the exception. Father Morice finds fault with certain writers for assigning to women among the American Indians a higher status than the facts, according to his belief, justify. With the Déné the rôle of woman is low indeed, that of the widow especially. The "woman chief" (a rare phenomenon) is created merely to keep the dignity in the clan, and she does not gain much as a woman *per se*. Dr. Goddard's article, though treating of the Athapascan tribes in general, those in the United States as well as those of the Dominion, is of particular interest by reason of the discussion of the question of the primitive home of this stock and the probable migrations of its various members. At pages 354-356 the Sarcee are considered. Their art and mythology show very

close relationship with those of the Algonkian Blackfeet. Dr. Goddard believes that the arguments to be drawn from the study of the culture, social customs, folk-lore and religion of the Athapascan peoples lead to the conclusion that the southern tribes of this stock have not migrated from the north, as is now commonly held by ethnologists, but that perhaps the whole western portion of the continent was once occupied by them and their separation was occasioned by the invasion of non-Athapascan tribes. Indeed, language is practically the only remaining proof of unity among some of these Athapascan peoples, who have either adapted themselves remarkably to their physical environment or assimilated in equally striking fashion the culture of intruding or neighbouring non-Athapascan peoples (e.g., Hupa and Ymok; Sarcee and Blackfeet). If a similar state of affairs can be asserted for the Algonkian stock, the linguistic map of primitive America needs considerable modification to indicate the original distribution of families of speech.

Of papers relating directly to the Algonkian Indians, we have the following: Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, *A Micmac manuscript* (vol. i, pp. 87-124); Father C. E. David, *Les Montagnais du Labrador et du lac St. Jean* (205-211); Dr. Joseph Schmitt, *Chasses des sauvages à l'île d'Anticosti* (213-214); Father Pacifique, *Quelques traits caractéristiques de la tribu des Micmacs* (315-328); Father Lacombe, *Le génie de la langue Algonquine* (vol. ii, pp. 225-242). Professor Prince's article is a valuable contribution to linguistics and folk-lore, consisting of the Micmac text, from the manuscript of Peter Googoo, Jr., of Whycocomagh, C.B., of nine legends and one song, with occasional explanatory notes. This is in line with the efforts of the ethnologists of to-day to record as much as possible concerning all primitive peoples in their own languages. Father David summarizes our knowledge of the *Montagnais of Labrador and Lake St. John,* of whom we learn that "everybody, men, women and children can both read and write." They are all Catholics and very religious, having great respect for their dead. The Montagnais "is a hunter and dreams of nothing but hunting," and the question is, what will become of him

when game fails altogether? The Montagnais number 2,043, scattered from the Escoumains to the Straits of Belle Isle. The efforts of the author to discover a Montagnais etymology for Niagara (p. 206) are not to be approved. Dr. Schmitt informs us that since 1893, the company in possession of the island of Anticosti having forbidden hunting, no Indians have visited it. Formerly the Micmacs came from Gaspé and the Montagnais from Mingan, Seven Islands and Godbout. From Father Pacifique's interesting paper on *The Micmacs* we learn that they are neither diminishing in numbers nor degenerating, but "holding their own in spite of all obstacles." Nor will they, he thinks, soon disappear by absorption into the white population, for their attachment to their language, which almost all can read and write, "guarantees their cohesion and permanence." The Micmacs are by nature peaceful and benevolent. In 1778 they resisted the efforts of the French and Americans to make them take part against the English. Attached to this article is a map of *Migmagig,* or "Micmac Land," in which all the names of settlements, districts, etc., are given in the Indian tongue. Father Lemoine's paper on *The Genius of the Algonkin Language* consists of grammatical notes on the noun, adjective, pronoun, and verb, the latter *the word par excellence,* in the language of the Algonkian Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains, Que. Commenting on the alleged great length of Algonkin words, the author observes that "this length of words is only apparent; the elementary words are as short as in French; it is the derivatives and compound words that give the rather barbarous appearance to the Algonkin" (p. 225). The alleged monosyllabism of Algonkin, believed in in certain quarters, he attributes to the fact that "the Indians separate all the syllables of a word when they write." Dr. N. E. Dionne's article, which bears the general title, *Les langues sauvages du Canada et l'Oraison Dominicale* (vol. ii, pp. 211-215), is really concerned with the Lord's Prayer in the Montagnais language of the Algonkian stock. The two versions of Father Massé (1632) and Father Labrosse (1767) are reproduced and analysed. Between them there is a most remarkable difference of phrase and word, a difference, however, "indi-

cating perhaps progress in language, rather than inconsistency of speech."

The Iroquoian stock is represented by these papers: Abbé P. Rousseau, *Les Hochelagas* (vol. i, pp. 279-297); Father A. E. Jones, *Topography of Huronia* (299-300); and Abbé G. Forbes, *Étude sur les noms Iroquois* (301-309). In the first of these articles the Abbé Rousseau sets forth the view, not at all to be commended, that the much discussed Hochelagas were the "Alleghanies" driven north by changes in the distribution of Indian peoples in the west and south. From the very brief summary of Father Jones' paper we learn that "the only place yet undiscovered, which was hallowed by the blood of one of the Huron missionaries, and where the remains of Father Charles Garnier lie undisturbed to the present day, is Etharita, or the St. Jean of the Petuns." The Abbé Forbes' article on *Iroquois names* discusses them from the points of view of etymology, grammar, sociology, etc., giving numerous examples of personal names of men and women. The personal name relates to the clan or *ohtara* to which the bearer's mother belongs. The "Iroquois saint," Catherine *Tekakwitha,* as her name indicates, belonged to the little Tortoise clan. At Caughnawaga are still represented the clans of the wolf, rock (or great wolf), bear, little tortoise (or calumet), large tortoise, lark. Summaries of the proceedings of the Quebec meetings have been published by Dr. A. F. Chamberlain, in the "University of Toronto Monthly" (vol. vii, pp. 145-151) for April, 1907, and by Dr. P. Ehrenreich in the "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" (Bd. xxxix, 1907, pp. 249-258). The anonymous account in "Anthropos" (vol. ii, pp. 152-157) is probably from the pen of Father A. G. Morice.

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Among the An-ko-me-nums or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast. By Rev. Thomas Crosby. Toronto, 1907. Pp. 243.

The Native Races of the British Empire. British North America. I. The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné. By C. Hill-Tout. London, 1907. Pp. xiv, 263.

Die Geschichte der Menschheit. Erster Band. Die Völker ewiger Urzeit. I. Die Amerikaner des Nordwestens und des Nordens. Von Kurt Breysig. Mit einer Völkerkarte. Berlin, 1907. Pp. xxvii, 563.

Among the An-ko-me-nums is the record of the labours and experiences of the first twelve years of the activity of a Methodist missionary from Woodstock, Ont., who began by teaching an Indian school at Nanaimo, B.C., in March, 1863. It contains interesting information concerning the relations of the whites and the Indians, conversions to Christianity, etc.; and chapters viii-xii (pages 67-125) deal with feuds and bloodshed, houses, clothing, cruel customs, courtship and marriage, foods, feasts and follies, native worship and superstition. Some linguistic information (about the Chinook Jargon chiefly) is included. The author's ethnologic knowledge is, however, at fault in many places. From his own personal experience on the spot the reviewer feels justified in objecting to the statement (p. 53) about the Chinook Jargon that "at the best it is but a wretched means of communication." The suggested derivation of the Jargon word *Siwash* ("Indian") from the ethnic name *Salish* (p. 10) is impossible, for there is no doubt whatever of its being a corrupt form of the Canadian French *sauvage* (*savâge*). For the unrestricted observation (p. 87) on head-flattening that "the effect of this pressure was to stupefy the senses and to crush out the intellect," there is no real evidence. Some of the experiences of Mr. Crosby are valuable as indicating ways of avoiding mistakes often made by missionaries and others who seek to change the institutions and the ideas of primitive people, without any comprehensive or sympathetic conception of their origin and development.

The series of volumes in which appears Mr. C. Hill-Tout's *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné,* is edited by N. W. Thomas, the English ethnologist and folklorist, and "is intended to supply in handy and readable form the needs of those who wish to learn something of the life of the uncivilized races of our empire." As far as possible, the authors will be "anthropologists who have personal knowledge of the tribes of whom they

write." References to authorities "will be dispensed with as unnecessary for the general reader," but "for those who desire to follow up the subject a bibliography will be found at the end of each volume." The bibliography in the volume under review, it may be remarked, is entirely inadequate. We note also *Kooteney* (p. 32), a needless orthography. On page 134 "the *Yakut* tribes" are mentioned, when quite another Asiatic people is meant. Apart, however, from these lesser faults, the book is well-suited for the purpose intended, giving a good *résumé* of our present knowledge of the Canadian Salishan and Athapascan (Déné) peoples. There is a satisfactory index, and the illustrations, which are from photographs, are very good. The volume begins with two chapters treating generally of the geography, history and ethnology of the region in question, after which come ten others dealing with habitations, dress and personal adornments, food and cooking, basketry and bark vessels, implements of war and the chase, social organization, religious beliefs and practices, social practices, folk-tales and myths, from the cradle to the grave. Among both Déné and Salish, besides "the characteristic American type," the author recognizes also the "adventitious or so-called Mongoloid type,"—the coastal regions showing, he thinks, more of the latter than does the interior. The statement on page 158 that "matriarchy has everywhere been superseded by patriarchy," is rather too broad, implying, as it does, the former universal existence of matriarchy. The author's view of "religion," although partly offset by the data in his chapter on "Religious Beliefs and Practices," would seem unnecessarily narrow. He is right in assigning to the "potlatch" in earlier pre-trading days a good and beneficial influence, for on the whole it "engendered feelings of good-will and friendship between settlement and settlement and tribe and tribe and making war almost impossible between them." Naturally, we find in this volume the author's views on totemism, and at page 178 occurs this interesting observation: "Totemism,—using the word in the American sense, that is, as the doctrine of 'guardian spirits,'—differs from shamanism mainly in the fact that it brings the individual into personal and direct relation with the spirits of things without the mediation of the medicine man." The receptive attitude of

some of the Indian peoples of this region toward "foreign culture" is remarkable. Mr. Hill-Tout believes that the aboriginal population of the country has greatly decreased during the last hundred years, the Canadian Salish of to-day (about 12,000) "not representing nearly a fifth of the population of this stock at the time of Simon Fraser's visit to them." As to the Déné, he agrees with Father Morice in his belief that their total number at the present time "is less than one-fifth of what it was when Mackenzie first passed through the country."

Kurt Breysig's *The Americans of the North-west and North* forms the first volume of a series dealing with the primitive peoples of the world, of which the American Indians furnish a good example, and this series is itself part of "a history of mankind, of the real, whole, great mankind, not merely the European or some other section of it." After the child-races come the mighty nations; after the dance of primitive tribes comes the campaign of kings. The introductory section (pp. 31-87) is devoted to a consideration of universal history, its nature and development. According to Breysig, "one of the most grievous errors of our time is the idea that it is completely superior to all previous stages of human development" (p. 45). One great task of history, therefore, is to show forth the real character and achievements of each age and of the great men of that age. The beginnings of the history of the highest races are still to be seen among the surviving primitive races of the globe. The separation of the American continent so long from the rest of the world enables us to discover in the "Red Race" an essentially primitive people, the study of which is of first importance. The first part (pages 102-371) of this monograph on the history of the "red race" treats of the "Columbians," in which group the author includes the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl-Nootka (Wakashan), Salish, Sahaptin, Kootenay, Chinook, etc.; the second (pp. 372-514) considers "the Northern peoples," i.e., Eskimo and Athapascans. On the map (they are not considered in this volume) is also outlined the territory of the "North-east Americans," under which title are grouped the Algonkian, Siouan, "Pani" (i.e., Caddoan), Iroquoian and Gulf tribes. This classification is very far from satisfactory, and it is a pity

that the book could not have had the advantage of a careful use of the *Handbook of American Indians* recently issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology. The map is incorrect in several details, which attention to the Powellian map would have avoided. The final portion of the work is occupied by an appendix dealing in general with sociological topics. The author considers the two groups of Indian tribes under these heads: Land and people, social organization, intellectual life (religion, art, language), etc. There is much valuable information in this volume, for the author has read widely if not always well,—it seems to the reviewer, for instance, that he too readily takes issue with such expert authorities as Boas. A more detailed examination of Breysig's views is reserved till the appearance of the second volume, which is to contain his theories and conclusions in set form with regard to the whole red race and its great divisions.

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VI. EDUCATION, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The University of Toronto and its Colleges, 1827-1906. The University Library: Published by the Librarian, 1906. Pp. 330.

Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto. Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1906. Pp. lv, 268.

It was a timely inspiration which led the Senate in 1903 to take the needful preliminary steps towards the preparation of a volume to contain in compendious form the main facts of the chequered history of the institution now bearing the name of the University of Toronto. The labours of various members of the staff of the University and colleges, and the financial assistance of the governing body, have brought this undertaking to completion in the shape of the interesting, and, in its outward garb, attractive publication before us. A large part of this history has been contemporary with the lives of men still living, and to some of them at least is a matter of first-hand knowledge; but they belong to a generation which is rapidly passing away. The public at large, even the great majority of graduates, have, at best, only a vague and disjointed knowledge of some of the more salient incidents. They are, in consequence, not in a position to understand the peculiarities of the University and the difficulties under which it has laboured and is, in some measure, still labouring. Like the English constitution, the constitution of the University has been full of anomalies—the result of a struggle of opposing forces. At no time since the date of its charter has it been possible to develop the University freely on ideal lines. At every opportunity for reconstruction—even in the work of the latest and most important Commission—it has been needful to compromise, to sacrifice to interests which, had its history been more fortunate, might not have existed or might have had little weight.

Short as has been the history of the University in comparison with some of the great institutions of learning in the old world, it is long in relation to the life of the province, long

enough to take us back to a period when prevalent views in politics and education were very different from those now commonly accepted. We must remember that at the date of the conferring of the charter (1827) in the mother-land, whence the charter came, the Test and Corporation Acts were not yet repealed, Roman Catholics and Jews laboured under political disabilities, the universities were closed to Dissenters, a system of national education was some half-century distant. In Canada, popular government did not exist; a chief factor in politics was the Governor, a man of aristocratic antecedents, accustomed to old-world conditions, appointed for too brief a time to gain an understanding of the needs of the new land. Yet even he was usually more open-minded and far-seeing than that other important political factor—the group of officials who, while they doubtless represented the highest culture of the colony, clung to the traditions and habits of the old country with a conservatism the more intense that they were separated from her. How could an institution moulded by such influences be in harmony with the needs and inevitable development of this crude and miscellaneous community? Indeed, this community was yet too young to have arrived at any agreement in sentiments and ideals which might deserve the name of national. It was greatly to their credit, and of good augury, that already, before the close of the eighteenth century, all classes, from the Governor downwards, were unanimous in asking the Crown to set apart 500,000 acres of the waste land of the province for the purposes of superior education,—in part for grammar schools and not less than one-half for an institution of higher learning. But the next step, the giving shape to this project by the charter of 1827, seems, at least in the light of later developments, to have been premature. The delay of a few years,—a delay which would not have involved any loss to the educational interests of the people of that day (for the actual academic work did not begin until 1843) would have made the University the product of influences and an environment much more likely to have impressed upon it a character in keeping with the permanent tendencies of the society which it was destined to serve. Had it not been for the energy of one man, Dr. Strachan, this delay might well have occurred; and one might almost wish,

admirable as was Dr. Strachan's force, and great as were his services to the young province, that in the matter of higher education his activity and perseverance had been less vigorous. The charter obtained by his efforts provided for a university strictly Anglican in its character, though no tests were imposed upon students or graduates. Dr. Strachan maintained, probably with perfect accuracy, that the provisions were unprecedentedly comprehensive:

> "The charter was completed in 1827," he says, "not without much delay, occasioned by the scruples felt in England (on the part of the Government) against making the charter so open in its character as I felt would be desirable to make it,—having reference to the state of society and varied population in Upper Canada. It was not without much difficulty that I succeeded in obtaining a charter so comprehensive in its provisions, that none of a character so liberal had ever passed the Great Seal of England for a similar purpose."

Whether this be so or not, its exclusive character stirred up opposition throughout the province, and the House of Assembly petitioned the King to amend the charter. Notwithstanding these objections, the College Council was constituted by the beginning of 1828, and, under the leadership of the President, Dr. Strachan, proceeded to take measures for the establishment of a university by the appointment of a Bursar, sale of endowment lands, and purchase of a site. This business activity continued to be maintained throughout the long period which elapsed before the beginning of actual academic work. The results as regards this endowment were such as again to awaken the wish that the projected institution had been permitted to remain in embryo during these fifteen years of pre-academic activity. The one really advantageous thing accomplished was the purchase, in 1828, of the present site. The character of the general management of the funds is manifested in a return made at the instance of the legislature in 1839. According to this, it appears that the current income from all sources at this date was, in round numbers, £3,804, against which were fixed items of expenditure of £3,169, and that, too, although no academic work was being done, and the only paid officers were the President, the Bursar, and some minor officers, such as his assistants. There was thus available to maintain the work proper to a university only £635. Yet, of the 225,944 acres of the original endowment, 99,737 had already

been sold. Of the proceeds, £54,926 had been expended; the chief items being loans to Upper Canada College £34,409, the University site (168 acres) £4,391, improvement of grounds £6,805, plans and preparations for building £1,109.

The inclusion of the loans to Upper Canada College in the expenditure needs a word of explanation. Upper Canada College, which owed its existence to the Governor, Sir John Colborne, had been provided with an endowment and annual grant from the public funds, but, notwithstanding, had been unable to meet its expenditure. To cover its deficits, King's College Council had made advances on security of the school endowment; its financial condition did not improve, and finally endowment and management were handed over to the Council. In regard to the last item on the list, although no buildings had yet been erected, a wooden model had been obtained in England at a cost of £430, from which seemingly the local architect had to make plans and specifications. At a later date one portion of this building was erected at a considerable cost. For the purposes of teaching, however, the Parliament buildings were employed; and the college building stood useless and a source of expense. It was then occupied for a time as a residence for students, but the expenditure was so disproportionate to the receipts that the College Council resolved to close it. The building had next to be used for classes, though very ill-adapted for this purpose, when, in 1849, the Parliament buildings were required for their proper purpose. A little later the Executive of the province barefacedly expropriated the college building and employed it as a lunatic asylum. The history of this edifice is a typical example of the mismanagement from within and spoliation from without by which the institution for a long period suffered.

The returns we have quoted show that even in 1839, after the sale of a large slice of the endowment, the Council had not at its disposal an income sufficient to inaugurate the work of teaching. But there was an obstacle apart from this. The Governors of the province were *ex-officio* chancellors; with them, according to the charter, the initiation of all statutes of the Council lay, and they refused to consent to begin the work of the college so long as the hostility of the country and the House existed to its con-

stitution. Indeed, on assuming office in 1828, Sir John Colborne, acting presumably on instructions from the Home Government, convened the College Council and stated that no further steps should be taken in bringing the University into operation. The whole earlier activity of the Council seems, therefore, to have been in defiance of the instructions of the Governor; but Dr. Strachan and his supporters magnified the authority of the charter, which came from no mere ministry, but from the King in person. And so far did they carry this that, in 1831, when the Colonial Secretary, at the earnest recommendation and advice of H. M. Government, requested the Council to surrender the charter and lands granted to them, they refused, pleading that as they had received from the King a charter for the promotion of higher education on certain well defined religious principles, and as trustees of this royal grant, they could not surrender it without knowing what would be substituted for it.

The House of Assembly did not share in such scruples, and made more than one attempt to amend the charter, but its supporters were successful in throwing out these bills in the Legislative Council. At length, in 1837, the College Council, weary of the struggle, determined to compromise; and an Act amending the royal charter passed both branches of the legislature. The amendments were such as to divest the college of any necessarily Anglican character; but, as a matter of fact, any immediate changes involved did not alter the Anglican complexion of the governing board; and Dr. Strachan still remained, not merely President, but in every sense the presiding spirit of the institution. Moreover, the professor of Divinity,—and it was certainly Anglican divinity,—was retained. The long bickerings about the charter had roused hostility to the college, the tendencies of Dr. Strachan and his associates were well known, the opponents of the old charter were not yet willing to accept King's College as a satisfactory solution of the problem of higher education. The embargo upon the Council's entering on the real work of the college was, however, removed; but before it had begun the work of instruction, the Church of Scotland in Canada, the Methodists, and the Roman Catholics had each their institution of higher learning.

Thus, though the charter had been amended, nothing had really been accomplished towards the realization of a strong national centre of higher culture, such as the original promoters of an endowment for higher education in Upper Canada, Dr. Strachan himself and his opponents alike, we may presume, contemplated as a result of their efforts. Hereupon, between 1843 and 1853, follows a new series of bills, most of them abortive, to overcome the difficulties of the situation. One of these bills, and one only, boldly attacked the real obstacles, and had it become law might doubtless have made an end of the long conflict. Unfortunately, although being a ministerial measure it would probably have passed, it never arrived at the final stages,—not from any objection to the bill, but because of a difference, wholly unconnected with it, between the Governor and his ministers, which led to the resignation of the latter. This bill, which was brought in by the Hon. Robert Baldwin in 1843, created a University of Toronto, bestowed upon it the endowment which King's College had enjoyed, took away their degree-conferring powers from all the colleges, and provided that degrees in Divinity should be conferred on the recommendation of the several colleges. This measure was supported by a resolution of the governing body of Queen's College, who expressed their willingness, if satisfactory changes were made in the constitution of King's College, to restrict their work to theology and remove to Toronto. The worst bill in the series was that proposed by the Hon. John A. Macdonald, which would have distributed the endowment among denominational colleges and the grammar schools of the province. This bill Robert Baldwin denounced; Dr. Strachan at first approved of but subsequently opposed it, and it was withdrawn.

Meanwhile, in 1843, the academic work of King's College at length began. There was a good, if not large, staff; and there was instruction not merely in Arts, but also in Divinity, Medicine and Law. The professors in Arts and Divinity were imported from Britain; those in Medicine and Law were naturally men engaged in the practice of their profession in Toronto. The professors were *ex-officio* members of the College Council, and hence the character of that body was somewhat changed.

The President, Dr. Strachan, found his firmest supporters in Professors McCaul and Beaven, while Professors Croft, Gwynne and Potter were often in opposition. The latter group seem to have had the greater business acumen, but the former group were usually dominant, and the purely business affairs of the college were scarcely better conducted than in the earlier period, though this was in part due to the slack methods of the Bursar's office. The Commission which was appointed in 1849 to investigate the affairs of King's College reported extraordinary incapacity in financial management, rapid alienation of the endowment, neglect of leased lands, looseness in the collection of dues. In 1847 it was suddenly discovered that 50,000 acres of the endowment were in peril from squatters' rights. Already, in 1844, the expenditure exceeded the revenue, and the capital was being encroached upon for current expenses. In the face of this, and notwithstanding the opposition of some members of the Board, an additional salary was voted to Professor Beaven for his services as chaplain. This salary was disallowed by two successive chancellors; yet, as the commissioners discovered, it was regularly, and, of course, illegally, paid. In academic work the college was altogether more successful. On the occasion of the last convocation of King's College, in October, 1849, it was stated that 150 students had been entered on the books, and 70 degrees had been conferred.

In 1849 an Act, introduced by Mr. Baldwin, was passed which transformed King's College into the University of Toronto, and established the institution on certain general lines from which it has not since departed; i.e., it was wholly separated from denominational influences, completely secularized, and placed more directly under the control of the state. The chair of Divinity was in consequence abolished; otherwise there was no change in the personnel of the staff, or breach in the continuity on the academic side. These changes, however, failed to conciliate the opponents of the state institution; indeed, the extent to which the principle of secularization was carried excited fresh repugnance; it was now termed the "godless university." When, in disproof of any such accusation, the new chancellor, the Hon. P. de Blaquière, cited the fact that Dr. Beaven (the

former professor of Divinity) was still on the staff as professor of Philosophy, the latter protested, "I think I have strong ground of complaint against you for using my name to sustain the character of an institution which I abominate." The changes effected, instead of bringing in the outlying colleges, caused the establishment of another rival, Trinity, through the exertions of Dr. Strachan. The Act having thus failed in its main purpose, another attempt at comprehension was presently made by the Hincks Act of 1853. This Act reconstituted the university, after the model of the University of London; it was made merely an examining and degree-conferring body, while the teaching functions of the earlier institution were transferred to University College, the two bodies sharing the endowment in common. It was hoped that the other colleges might gather about this provincial university, and might share with University College in the work of preparing students for the examinations and degrees of the central institution. These hopes were disappointed. By this time the denominational colleges had taken root in their own localities, faculties had been appointed, and vested interests created. There is no difficulty in finding legitimate reasons for the failure of the scheme without impugning the motives and actions either of the provincial institutions or the outlying colleges, although at the time such aspersions were freely made. Such insinuations seem to have had no deeper source than the irritation and suspicion aroused by the prolonged conflict for the benefits of the provincial endowment. The consequence of all this was that practically no candidates went up for the examinations of the university except those from University College and a certain number of students prepared by private study; so that, in course of time, university and college, sharing in a common endowment and interested in the same curriculum and students, became, to all intents, practically identical.

Thus a new order of things came into existence which lasted until the later '80's. During these thirty years the strength of the infant institution was consolidated; it drew to its halls many of the ablest young men in the country; it maintained a creditable standard and did good work; the numbers of its students gradually increased, and the alumni came to occupy many of the

important positions in the province. To these results various changes effected about the time of the Hincks Act greatly contributed. Especially, the staff was increased and strengthened. The new appointees were all of them men of scholarship in their own departments, and several of them men of marked ability. At the same time the curriculum was broadened and brought into closer relation with the needs of the country. Upper Canada College had been almost the only feeder of King's College; to give the remodelled institution a wider constituency, the matriculation standard was lowered and, at the same time, the undergraduate course extended from three to four years. At the outset, however, before these improvements had had an opportunity to produce their natural results, the position of the institutions was extremely perilous and their hold on the country very weak. Many of the friends of King's College were alienated; no denomination was pledged to the remodelled college and university; secularization had been carried farther than the general feeling of the country approved; the denominational colleges and many of their supporters were hostile; University College was weakened by the elimination of the teaching of Medicine and Law from its work. There were, however, a considerable number of the citizens of the province who believed in a strong national centre of higher learning rather than in what, considering the condition of the country, must be weak denominational colleges. Among these were men of weight and leading, like W. H. Blake and George Brown. A certain section of the Anglicans and of the Presbyterians strenuously supported University College, as the lists of students best show. Other smaller denominations who had no Arts colleges of their own naturally enlarged the constituency of the state institution. By a lavish expenditure on scholarships (an expenditure which was not free from objection, as the denominational colleges with some justice maintained) many of the ablest young men in the province were attracted to the university; and, most important of all, it may, without casting any slur on the excellent work done in the other colleges, be safely asserted that the comparative wealth of the provincial institution enabled it to maintain a staff superior, in attainments and reputation for scholarship, to those of the rival colleges.

In its weakness the university had to submit to extraordinary ill-treatment. The most notable example of this has already been alluded to. In 1853 an Act was passed expropriating, as a site for Government buildings, "such portion of the ground forming part of the University endowment and lying at the head of College Avenue, and is not required for collegiate purposes, as may be found requisite." The Act provided that interest should be paid on the valuation of the land expropriated; but no such payment was ever made until 1897, when wholly new conditions had arisen. Farther, the Executive Government, ignoring the proviso contained in the quotation above, seized upon the very part of the property which was used for collegiate purposes, and actually took possession of the college building, although there is no mention of buildings in the Act. Another instance of spoliation only less flagrant may be quoted from the Senate Report of 1856.

"In their last annual report, on the occasion of a public road being opened in continuation of Yonge Street Avenue without their knowledge and consent, the Senate respectfully insisted that such a proceeding on the part of the Executive was neither authorized by the letter nor in accordance with the spirit of the Act of Parliament by which the property became vested in the Crown. The works, nevertheless, have been continued during the summer, not only upon the road newly opened, but also upon portions of the old avenues, with a view apparently of making them leading thoroughfares, and as the Senate have not been consulted upon the necessity or expediency of the undertaking, they have not offered any further interference. They have, however, learned with extreme surprise and regret that on the 1st of December, by an order of your Excellency's Executive Council, two-thirds of the cost of the work has been directed to be paid out of the University Permanent Fund, upon the ground that the road was intended as an approach to the University Building."

It has been stated by persons who were likely to know, that the explanation of the action of the Executive in the latter case is that certain private individuals, who had influence, desirous of improving their own property without expense to themselves, were able to "pull wires" so as to saddle the main cost of these street improvements on the university. Further proof of weakness is seen in the action of the university itself in regard to the Queen's Park. In 1858 the Senate handed over to the City of Toronto some fifty acres of the site originally purchased for King's College, in return for a nominal rent of one dollar per

annum. It was hoped, explained Sir Daniel Wilson, many years later,

"at a critical stage when some of the most influential among Canadian statesmen made no mystery of their willingness to abandon all idea of a national university and share the endowment among various denominational institutions, to enlist civic and popular sympathy on behalf of the University of the people, by the alienation of a small portion of the University lands held on such uncertain tenure."

The college building having been expropriated by the Executive, University College began its work in the Parliament buildings, and these being, in a short time, required for the legislature, the university and college had to find refuge in a very cramped and unsuitable structure in the Park, originally erected for the Medical Faculty. The need of better accommodation was pressing, and representations having been made to the Government, the Governor-in-Council, in 1856, authorized the expenditure from the Permanent Fund (i.e., the capital) of the sum of £75,000 for buildings. The work thus rendered possible was completed by the laying of the coping stone by Sir Edmund Head, October 4th, 1858. Beauty, both in broader architectural effects and in decorative detail, was lavished upon this building with a freedom which, from economic considerations, has not been ventured in the case of any subsequent structure erected for the purposes of the institution. Yet few friends of the university but will feel that the extravagance, if extravagance it were, has not been justified. With those responsible for the plans, merely utilitarian considerations doubtless counted for less than they are wont to count now, and there was another motive for their comparative disregard of economy,—their feeling that at any moment the endowment might be scattered among colleges now existing or presently to come into being. Such ideas were in the air. In 1856 a petition had been presented to the legislature from the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church "that a part of the endowment now expended upon Toronto University and University College be annually appropriated to the chartered colleges now established or hereafter to be established, according to the number of students annually attending." This request was suggested by a clause of the Act of 1853 which provided that any surplus of income remaining at the end of any year

" shall constitute a fund to be, from time to time, appropriated by Parliament for Academic Education in Upper Canada." This last phrase has the appearance of being purposely left ambiguous; but it may well bear the interpretation put upon it by the denominational colleges,—that the surplus was to be used for increasing the subventions annually voted to these colleges by the legislature. No surplus ever came into existence. The income,—at this date, amounting to some £16,000,—could easily be expended for perfectly legitimate purposes; and the Senate took care that it should be so expended. For example, in the minutes of the Senate for December 21st, 1855, we read that the Bursar had estimated a probable surplus, on the 31st of the month, of £3,000; whereupon the Senate appropriated £2,500 for the establishment of a library. The expenditure on the new building made an inroad on the capital; hence lessened the income, and made the possibility of a surplus still more remote. The other colleges naturally felt aggrieved. In 1859 the storm, long imminent, broke. It originated with the Methodist body, which protested against the extravagant management of the provincial endowment for higher education. They even maintained that the clause of the Act on the basis of which money had been assigned for building purposes did not warrant the action of the Executive: " The Governor-in-Council may authorize such permanent improvements, or additions to the buildings on the said property, as may be necessary for the purposes of the said institutions, and may direct the cost thereof to be paid out of the Permanent Fund." The supporters of Queen's joined in the agitation; an extensive and bitter newspaper controversy arose, and the legislature was deluged with petitions for a division of the endowment. In March, 1860, these petitions were referred to a special committee, of which the Hon. Malcolm Cameron was chairman. This committee made an elaborate investigation, and heard representatives of the various parties interested. Dr. Ryerson was the most prominent personage on the side of the petitioners; the Vice-Chancellor (Mr. John Langton) and Dr. Daniel Wilson appeared in behalf of the university and the college. The committee never reported to the House; two draft reports which are in existence show wide divergence of opinion,—one, prepared by

the chairman, is in favour of the petitioners; the other, drawn up by the Hon. Wm. Cayley (a member of the committee) and Mr. Langton would leave things *in statu quo*. In the absence of a report, the Attorney-General, John A. Macdonald, acting on a suggestion of Dr. Ryerson, recommended a Commission. Accordingly, in 1861, the Governor, as Visitor, appointed a commission "for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditure of the funds of that Institution, and into the state of its financial affairs." If an impartial judgment as to the questions raised was desired, the selection of commissioners was extraordinary. They were three in number: John Beatty, of Cobourg, a member of the senate of Victoria College; John Paton, of Kingston, a member of the senate of Queen's College; and the Hon. James Patton, Vice-Chancellor of the University. That is the plaintiffs were represented by two, the defendant by one member. Further, Mr. Patton, unlike Mr. Langton, who had strenuously maintained the cause of the university before the select committee, did not represent the views of the academic members of the Senate; on the contrary, he was closely allied with Dr. Ryerson, as the correspondence in regard to the report of this Commission, published in the Documentary History of Education, vol. 18, shows. With such a *personnel* the general tendency of the findings of the Commission could not be doubtful. The report, which contains a great deal of valuable material, was made public in 1862. It is not difficult to discern that a dominant purpose with the commissioners was to find justification for reducing the expenditure of University College. Undoubted defects are exposed: the existence of professorships of Agriculture and Meteorology, out of all connection with the rest of the work of the college; the cost of residence, etc. Some of their recommendations, on the score of economy, would not meet with approval in these later times: the teaching of Modern and Oriental languages by low-paid tutors, the reduction of the number of professorships (at that date three) devoted to Science. The main elements of the plan which they proposed may be briefly indicated. King's College was to be re-established with an income of $28,000 per annum. To each of the other four chartered colleges (Victoria, Queen's, Regiopolis, Trinity) an annual sum of $10,000 was

assigned. Further, to each of these four colleges a sum of $60,000 was to be given to put them on a level with King's College in the matter of buildings, library, etc. All rights of conferring degrees were to be surrendered to the Central University of Upper Canada, on the model of the University of London. To meet this expenditure the endowment was to be increased by the capitalization of the annual allowance of $5,000 voted to each of the outlying colleges by the legislature, and by compensation for the expropriation of grounds and buildings of the university in 1853. The report excited great indignation among the friends of the University of Toronto. Mr. Adam Crooks, Mr. Edward Blake and other graduates took a prominent part in agitating against it. Motions were passed in the Senate condemning it; and a new wave of controversy flooded the public prints. It was alleged that the commissioners had transgressed the limits of their powers; certainly it is a fact that they gave a scope to their investigations and recommendations which do not seem warranted by the language of the Commission quoted above. In any case, the report remained a dead letter.

Then followed a somewhat uneventful but important period, during which university and college were left to do their work without external disturbance. Those in authority had learned by experience the wisdom of cutting their coat to suit their cloth. This, indeed, was now not so difficult, for the institution was fairly equipped, for the needs of that time, with staff, buildings and other requisites. As its graduates increased in age and numbers its hold on the country rapidly strengthened. In 1877 far-reaching developments were foreshadowed by the establishment of the School of Practical Science in close connection with University College. The change was closely related with improved methods for the teaching of science, involving the extensive use of laboratories, strongly advocated in the Senate by Professor (subsequently President) Loudon. The tendency to expansion is also shown in 1887 by the restoration of the teaching of medicine to the work of the university through the taking over of the Toronto School of Medicine. The increase in numbers of students, the demand for the admission of women into University College (granted in the session of 1884-5), the need

of broadening of the curriculum, and the new methods employed in science, rendered additional teaching and additional accommodation imperative. At length, in 1883, application was made to the legislature for financial assistance. This was refused. The subventions by legislative grants to the outlying colleges had been withdrawn in 1868, and they now objected to exceptional assistance being given to the provincial institution. They, too, were feeling the need of expansion and the lack of funds. A policy of combination of forces on the part of those carrying on the work of higher education was wisely adopted. The result was the Federation Act of 1887, which came into actual operation through the accession of Victoria University in 1890. For the immense development which followed Federation, the accession of Trinity, the work of the Commission of 1905, and the University Act of 1906, and other important events of later history which are fresh in the minds of many of our readers, we must refer to the documentary facts furnished by the Appendices and the narratives contained in the main body of the volume before us.

Space remains only to mention the volume published by the recent Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, whose recommendations have resulted in a complete and, we may hope, final reorganization. The Commission made most careful inquiries on a large number of educational questions, and their report is a valuable study in present-day educational tendencies.

Mr. Lord's second article on *Degree-granting Institutions in Canada** covers the universities of Ontario and Quebec. Laval is, he admits, imposing in outward appearance, and inside the buildings are "a splendid maze," but Mr. Lord quarrels with its ecclesiastical atmosphere and with its official use of the French language. For McGill University he has only "a monotone of eulogy." He admires its great buildings, its national spirit, the competence of its teachers. For the University of Toronto Mr. Lord has discriminating praise. The buildings are magnificent, but, a state university, it is in danger of coming under political

* *Degree-granting Institutions in Canada.* By Walter Frewen Lord. (The Nineteenth Century and After, August, 1907, pp. 262-271.)

influences; there has been too much "breeding in" on the staff, and "there hangs about the University a disquieting flavour of mediocrity." The professors are not paid enough—£500 being, Mr. Lord thinks, the maximum salary; in fact, for years the maximum was $3,200, and it is now $4,000. It may well be true that salaries are too low at Toronto, but unhappily they are far higher there than at McGill, or any other university in Canada. Mr. Lord praises Queen's and the fine *esprit de corps* of its graduates.

Mr. Coleman's *Public Education in Upper Canada** is in brief compass a wellnigh exhaustive account of its subject, and does credit to the school of research at Columbia University. The volume consists of nine chapters. In the first there is an account of the political and social background when Upper Canada was founded. It is quite clear that from the first the members of the Anglican Church were in a minority, yet supremacy in education was claimed for it at an early date. Beginning with the educational policy of General Simcoe in chapter ii, Mr. Coleman traces the successive steps in evolution: the district grammar school, the common school, the controversies in regard to religion, the establishment of King's College and later of the University of Toronto; and he ends with a survey in chapter ix of the educational tendencies in Ontario since 1846. The book is accurate and scholarly throughout. There is an occasional slip in the spelling of a name, such as St. "Catherines"; but this is the best history of its subject that has yet appeared. Mr. Coleman's chief source of information has been Dr. Hodgins's "Documentary History," but he has also consulted a considerable number of secondary works. The book makes quite clear the fact that the great bulk of the pioneers in Upper Canada were men of very limited education. Talbot, who visited Upper Canada in 1818, says that books were hardly known in country parts; a petition sent thence to England in 1828 contained the mark of

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* *Public Education in Upper Canada.* By Herbert Thomas John Coleman. Published by Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1907. Pp. 120.

78,000 persons unable to write their names. It is also clear that the so-called "Family Compact" had no zeal for enlightening the minds of the people. They were keen for secondary and higher education, and for little else; the masses need not be taught. Thus a public system of primary education developed only slowly. Even for higher education little was done; for it 500,000 acres of "waste land" were indeed set apart from the first, but as, in 1800, 81,000 acres of such land sold for £411 16s. this endowment was for a long time almost valueless. Compared with the founders of Massachusetts the founders of Ontario do not shine in regard to education. Considering these antecedents, the present state of development, imperfect as it still is in some respects, is quite remarkable.

Three volumes of *The Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada** have appeared since our last notice, viz., vols. xvi, xvii and xviii, covering the years 1860-63. The larger part of these volumes, as of their predecessor, is occupied with matters pertaining to the agitation against the management of the endowment of the provincial university. There are, besides the regular instalments of Proceedings of the Council of Public Instruction, Reports of the Chief Superintendent, etc., various documents connected with the Separate School Act of 1863, and an account of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. The last mentioned topic is illustrated by an interesting but badly reproduced photograph of the Prince and his suite, together with some fifteen addresses by educational institutions to him. When such matters as the last mentioned are printed *in extenso,* it is not surprising that only about one year's history is now covered by each volume. Although Dr. Hodgins's accumulation of material is of the highest value for future historians, we hope that he may see his way to condense his work.

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* *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada.* By J. George Hodgins. Vols. XVI, XVII, XVIII. Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1907. Pp. vii, 326; vii, 334; vii, 327.

Souvenirs d'une Classe au Séminaire de Québec, 1867-1877. Par J. Edmond Roy. Lévis: Imprimerie de l'Auteur, 1907. Pp. 526. [Edition limited to 100 copies.]

M. J. Edmond Roy, whose "Seigneurie de Lauzon" has become the standard account of the working of feudalism in Canada, continues to show exhaustless activity in the world of letters. The present volume, which contains elaborate reminiscences of his own education, is in lighter vein than most of his previous works, and constitutes an affectionate memorial of his school and college days at the Seminary of Quebec and Laval University. It is more than this, however; it includes a historical sketch of the Seminary, perhaps the most important educational institution in the province of Quebec, and a very full analysis of its government and of the influences that operate there, together with sketches of the chief places of interest in Quebec itself.

The Seminary of Quebec, founded by Bishop Laval in 1663, was intended primarily as a training-school for priests. But, in addition, Laval wished it to be a home for his priests during the whole of their lives. They could always return thither for encouragement and counsel. In connection with the Seminary there was to be a chapter, with the Bishop at its head, and this chapter was to have the control of all appointments to parishes and the absolute power of removal. The Seminary was thus to be the very heart of the ecclesiastical life of the country. There everything should centre.

When Laval retired, his successor, St. Vallier, upset these plans. He took the appointment of the priests entirely into his own hands, and to Laval's great grief showed little sympathy for the Seminary as the chief training-ground for a national clergy. In time St. Vallier's hard attitude toward the Seminary somewhat softened, but Laval's cherished plan was not restored. To this day the Bishop of Quebec retains in his own hands all parochial appointments, with the single exception of the cure of Quebec itself. The Seminary has continued to be a training-school for priests, and its scope has been enlarged. Laval added to the original Seminary "Le Petit Séminaire," a school for boys destined for the priesthood. Before the British conquest the

Jesuits had a school at Quebec for other classes of boys. After the conquest this school was closed, and the Order was soon dissolved by the Pope. Then pressure was put upon the Seminary to take up the work hitherto carried on by the Jesuits. Uncertain that this was in the plan of their founder, the Seminary authorities at first hesitated, but in the end they enlarged their work to include a classical school for boys. In time there came a demand for university education in the province of Quebec, and, once more, the Seminary was asked to extend the range of its operations. In 1852 the movement resulted in the securing of a royal charter for Laval University in organic connection with the Seminary. Thus we have a development downward toward elementary secular education and a development upward toward university education. One person is at the head of the three institutions, the school, the theological college and the university. They are all under the same roof; probably in all the world there is no more remarkable educational institution than the Seminary of Quebec.

M. Roy begins his volume with a sketch of his fellow graduates of the year 1875. They then agreed to hold a reunion ten years later and in each successive tenth year. When they met they were to chant a mass for any deceased member. They were bound to help each other in case of need; to set apart a day in each year to pray for each other; and the last survivor was to have a mass said for all the rest. M. Roy gives an account of what has happened to his colleagues in the intervening thirty years. Then follow two chapters on the history of the Seminary, and in two long closing chapters he discusses the life in the Seminary; the rooms; the music; the pictures, some of them old masters; the meals; the amusements; the devotions. He dwells upon each peculiar custom with loving detail. The life had a flavour of the cloister; silence was preserved at meals and some instructive book was read aloud; one sees that religion was the dominant influence in the system of education, and M. Roy is enthusiastic about the devotion and influence of those who taught him. But there is not a word of bigotry in the whole book. M. Roy, we should say, belongs to the school of liberal Catholics, and this makes his testimony in regard to the spiritual influence in the Seminary all the more valuable.

His sketch of his teachers includes one figure who attained some eminence in the world of letters,—the Abbé Laverdière,—the editor of the Jesuit Relations and of Champlain's works. Laverdière was the typical *érudit,* the counterpart of Browning's grammarian, who thought no labour too great to illuminate the minutest point in scholarship. His contemporaries sometimes jested at the slow progress of his labours, but his work has justified his pains. His edition of Champlain has remained a model of careful scholarship. M. Roy describes other teachers. He takes the reader with him on prolonged pilgrimages through the city of Quebec and shows a wealth of knowledge and insight that has made him worthy to be ranked with Laverdière in the annals of French-Canadian scholarship.

A further volume, covering the course of study, is promised; possibly, indeed, a third; and when these have appeared we shall have a complete analysis of a typical French-Canadian education of the better sort. M. Roy's sketch of the early years of the Seminary is most valuable, for, oddly enough, the history of this remarkable institution has not yet been written; the late Cardinal Taschereau left some account of it, but his sketch has never been published. Our only adverse criticism of M. Roy's work is that it is rather badly printed on rather bad paper, and that the Table of Contents is quite inadequate. We hope for a satisfactory index when the book is completed.

The Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec. By the Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay (Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, vol. xviii, March, 1907, pp. 12-43).

After that of Mexico, the Roman Catholic diocese of Quebec is the oldest in North America. Founded in 1658, it comprised all Canada and Newfoundland, the valley of the Mississippi, and the great West. It was only in 1793, in reality, that Louisiana was separated from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Quebec by the appointment of Bishop Penalver y Cardenas. The first bishops of the United States, in the early days of Catholic organization—Caroll, Cheverus, Flaget, etc.—were in very frequent

correspondence with Quebec, especially under Plessis. There are consequently valuable documents in the archives of the Archbishop's palace at Quebec. Beginning with the arrival of Laval in 1659, and continuing without interruption down to our time, these archives form seventy-three folio volumes of 600 pages each. We find in them all the correspondence with Rome, with the kings and ministers of France, with the missionaries scattered over the whole northern continent, with the *curés* serving the parishes of the St. Lawrence valley, with the bishops appointed in the dioceses which were off-shoots of that of Quebec, to say nothing of the manuscripts in the languages of the Micmac, Algonkin and Montagnais Indians, and land-titles of the abbeys of Maubec and of Lestrée in France, which formerly belonged to the Bishop of Quebec, and some of which date from the thirteenth century.

Twenty letters selected from these archives are now printed. We are given to understand that there will be published later the complete series of the letters exchanged between the bishops of Quebec and those of the United States on the subject of the organization of Catholicism in the latter country. The letters now published include the correspondence exchanged, from 1811 to 1833, between Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, and Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, as well as a letter from M. Richard, *curé* at Detroit in 1816.

The bishopric of Bardstown, which now bears the name of Louisville, was erected in 1811, with Flaget as its bishop. His immense territory extended from Virginia and Florida to the unexplored West, and, in the north, it reached the sources of the Mississippi, and touched the Great Lakes. Flaget consequently calls himself, jokingly, " Bishop of marshes and lakes." It was on the subject of the settlements comprised in the delta of the Ohio and the Lakes, and of Detroit particularly, which down to 1783 had belonged to England, that Flaget entered into communication with Quebec. In 1818 he visited Detroit and came to Montreal. It was at this time that he wrote to Plessis regarding the necessity of establishing a diocese in Upper Canada. The letters contain curious details about the inhabitants of Detroit and of Sandwich, and about the Canadians settled in the West.

Plessis says that all Canadians must not be judged by what Flaget has seen at Prairie du Chien, Vincennes, and Saint-Louis de Missouri. In other letters Flaget inquires whether the decrees of the Council of Trent have ever been in force in Canada. In the last letter, dated in 1833, he informs Bishop Panet that he has resigned his bishopric. Flaget died in 1850 at Nazareth, Kentucky, after having founded several important institutions.

Mr. James Croil, a well known religious leader in Montreal, and now in advanced years, publishes an attractive volume dealing with the genesis of Churches in Canada and the United States.* The book contains a very large number of photographic illustrations, admirably done, and in this respect furnishes an opportunity to study the styles of ecclesiastical architecture which find favour in Canada. A historical sketch of each church accompanies the illustration. These short sketches are accurate, and the whole book is remarkable for its broad and tolerant spirit; Mr. Croil includes even the Christian Scientists among the regular churches. He has produced a most creditable volume.

Québec et Nouvelle-France—Bibliographie. Inventaire chronologique des Livres, Brochures, Journaux, et Revues publiés en langue anglaise dans la province de Québec, depuis l'établissement de l'imprimerie en Canada jusqu'à nos jours, 1764-1906. Par N. E. Dionne. Tome iii. Quebec, 1907. Pp. viii, 228. (Also in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, volume xii, part ii.)

The third volume of Dr. Dionne's Bibliography is the first in which he deals with English publications. The first volume was devoted to French-Canadian authors, whose books were either published at home or abroad. In the second he confined himself to books on Quebec or its people, published abroad, and he has now completed his task by adding a list of books by Eng-

* *Genesis of Churches in the United States of America, in Newfoundland and the Dominion of Canada.* By James Croil. Montreal: Foster Brown & Company, 1907. Pp. 307.

lish authors resident in Quebec. As before, the form is that of an "inventaire chronologique," in which the year of publication, rather than the list of the author's writings under one heading, is the main feature. This form, while extremely useful, fails completely when the year of publication is unknown, or when it is desirable to ascertain the books of a given writer, as has already been pointed out in the review of the first volume. Dr. Dionne has since, however, taken great pains to meet this defect by adding an index of both names and subjects for each volume, that for volume I being printed separately, to enable it to be inserted in its proper place.

As with the French writers, Dr. Dionne is again somewhat free in adding what can only by a stretch of courtesy be ranked as Quebec books; for example, Dr. A. G. Doughty, whose actual residence in Quebec was very limited, is included; Mr. Kingsford's book was written in Ottawa, printed in Montreal, and published in Toronto. These are illustrations of the difficulty of deciding what books to include, and Dr. Dionne, perhaps erring on the right side, has had a difficult task.

We find Dr. Dionne's list unduly extended by the insertion of a large number of separates extracted from the proceedings of societies and from parliamentary papers, the volumes containing which have already appeared under the general heading. Thus, no less than 250 of these papers from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, and of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society swell the number of the total list; and if to these are added almanacs and other ephemera repeated under several years, at least twenty per cent., 584, must be deducted from the total of 2,921, leaving 2,337 as the total number of English books published in Quebec between 1768 and 1905. Nearly three times as many were printed in Montreal as in the city of Quebec, the exact numbers being: Montreal, 1,850; Quebec, 678; other places, 272.

The number of books printed in French and English for the same period was very much alike: 3,092 against 2,921. Of late years there appears to have been an increase in the French output, as the number for 1903 is 73, against 40 English, which may be explained by the fact that the publication of English books

has been largely drawn to Toronto. As might be expected, the French journals outnumber those of the English, the respective numbers being 807 to 681, though this does not reveal the fact that a very considerable portion of the English journals were intended for circulation in the English provinces, whilst the French were almost entirely confined to circulation in the province of Quebec.

As has been already noticed, Dr. Dionne has not had an opportunity of comparing all the books on his list, so that titles have been taken from sale and other catalogues, which do not give full bibliographical information. In the list of periodicals this is specially noticeable, no clue being given, except in a few instances, to the number of volumes or length of existence of those journals which enjoyed but a brief existence. Whether it is now possible to do so is questionable, but at least an effort should have been made in the case of the more important reviews and magazines.

Dr. Dionne is entitled to the warmest praise for the devotion and the industry he has shown in the preparation of these volumes, which he has been enabled to publish by the aid of the Royal Society of Canada. The way has now been well prepared for a complete Canadian bibliography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Mr. McLachlan has been known for a generation as the chief Canadian authority on numismatics. He has also rendered good service in general antiquarianism. His paper on Fleury Mesplet,* of which all but twenty-eight pages consists of hitherto unknown documents and lists of rare books, is put together with indefatigable labour and research. The sources are given for every detail, and although the style is somewhat harsh, the picture of a curious period in Lower Canada is very illuminative. Mesplet was no hero, but a typical French artisan, one of those skilful, unreliable, wine-bibbing, free-thinking, easily influenced characters among whom the Jacobin leaders found part of the material for their earlier clubs. Born in or near Lyons in 1735, married at thirty, established in 1773 at London, where

* *Fleury Mesplet, the First Printer of Montreal.* By R. W. McLachlan. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 2nd ser., vol. xii, sect. ii, pp. 197-310.)

he printed a book, he soon afterwards fell under the influence of Benjamin Franklin and went to Philadelphia, where Congress commissioned him to print the pamphlet addressed "Aux Habitants de la Province de Québec." After prospecting the outlook in Canada early in 1775, he came to Montreal with Franklin in 1776 to found a Revolutionary press, and remained permanently. He printed in Canada some thirty-two known publications, in French, English, Latin and Iroquois, including the Montreal *Gazette,* first issued as *La Gazette Littéraire,* and still published. Jautard, his editor, also a Frenchman,—an amusing, carousing, unruly advocate,—had unlimited influence over the printer, and by his editorial indiscretions and his defiances of government, religion and the Bench during the period of the Revolutionary war, compelled the long suffering Haldimand to imprison them both from June, 1779, till September, 1782. Unabashed, Jautard's closing skit before going to prison was the much discussed article, *Tant pis, tant mieux,* a most gay and whimsical *défi.* Mesplet died in 1794. Mr. McLachlan credits him with founding "a free press," but it is evident that his being the first printer of a free press was only an interesting accident not due to any original purpose emanating from himself. The eighty valuable papers in the Appendix include a full bibliography, documents from the Haldimand collection, others from the Library of Congress, notarial deeds, extracts from church registers, and especially full inventories of Mesplet's possessions.

Professor Geddes and M. Rivard have compiled an interesting bibliography* of books, papers and even newspaper articles on the French spoken by the inhabitants of French Canada. Most of the items are annotated with a brief indication of their tenor and scope. Even the books of travel or memoirs of early authors have been searched for references to the French language as spoken in Canada, and sentences from these are quoted to justify the mention of them in the bibliography. It is interesting to see that the early French writers are consistent in speaking of the purity of the pronunciation and the absence of anything like pro-

* *Bibliographie du parler français au Canada.* Par James Geddes et Adjutor Rivard. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1906. Pp. 100.

vincialism of accent or expression. The desire of the authors of the bibliography to be exhaustive has led them a little too far occasionally. For instance, it is hard to see why Lord Durham's Report should be included, on the strength of a sentence which alludes to the difference of language between French Canadians and English Canadians. Professor Geddes also contributes to the eighth volume of Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht** an exhaustive bibliography of publications in "Canadian-French" published during the years 1902-1904. The items are annotated with brief appreciations in English. Professor Geddes devotes a couple of enthusiastic pages to the recently established Société du parler français au Canada and its "Bulletin." One of the objects of the Society is the preservation of the language. Yet Professor Geddes, in writing his own tongue, is guilty of the atrocities "thru" and "thruout."

In a pamphlet of forty pages, M. Davray gives a sketch of Anglo-Canadian literature† which is remarkable for its accuracy of detail as well as for breadth of view. A brief historical introduction relates the successive stages by which Canada, originally French, has become predominantly English in population and mode of government. The succeeding chapters are devoted to the beginnings of the literature, to the poets, to the romance-writers, and to the works of erudition. The most original, and withal Canadian, of the poets is Mr. Bliss Carman, according to M. Davray. Ralph Connor he considers the only purely Canadian novelist. He justly observes that romance-writing is little cultivated in Canada, principally because of the lack of a remunerative public, the United States and England manifesting little curiosity as yet in works of purely Canadian origin. M. Davray shows the wide extent of his acquaintance with writers of Canadian antecedents when he includes in his list of authors Dr. Beattie Crozier, Sir John Murray, and Mr. Theal, the historiographer of South Africa. His little book is full of sane and

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* *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie.* Bd. VIII. Erlangen: Fr. Junge, 1906.

† *La littérature anglo-canadienne.* Par Henry D. Davray. Paris: E. Sansot et Cie., 1907. Pp. 40.

suggestive criticism. As an instance may be given his remark that the whole race of American philosopher-humourists whose vehicle is slang is probably derived from Haliburton's *Sam Slick*.

Mr. Ab der Halden has published a second volume of essays on French-Canadian literature.* A former series was noticed in volume ix of this REVIEW (p. 226). Nearly half of the present volume is devoted to that formidable writer, Arthur Buies. To be anti-clerical in a country so devoted to its ecclesiastical institutions as French Canada would alone have been enough to mark him out from his brother journalists, but the spirit of revolt from all accepted canons and conventions burned fiercely within him, and he made enemies by his bitter criticisms faster than he could win friends by his undoubted talent. He died in 1901, at the age of sixty-one, and his reputation, as is usual with such writers, has grown since his death. It is the fashion now among a certain class of young writers to look up to him as their leader in the attempt to rouse French-Canadian literature from what they would denominate its state of somnolence or lethargy. The bibliography of the works of Buies appended to M. Ab der Halden's study shows that his literary output was almost entirely journalistic, the few exceptions being geographical or descriptive works. The other chapters in M. Ab der Halden's volume are devoted to Laure Conan, a novelist; Henri d'Arles, a "stylist" in prose, who writes chiefly on artistic subjects; William Chapman and Pamphile Le May, two poets of the elder generation; and "Quelques Jeunes," among whom he singles out Albert Lozeau and Émile Nelligan, poets both.

The Abbé Camille Roy, who has begun in the *Bulletin du parler français* a series of very elaborate studies in the history of Canadian literature, and who recently issued a first volume of these essays, which the French critic Ab der Halden pronounces in the *Revue d'Europe* (Sept., 1907), "the most interesting and complete which young Canadian literature has yet produced," has

* *Nouvelles études de littérature canadienne française.* Par Charles Ab der Halden. Paris: F. R. de Rudeval, 1907. Pp. xvi, 380.

made a more particular examination of the novel called the "Anciens Canadiens," which the old romance-writer, Aubert de Gaspé, wrote at the age of seventy-five.* Although this novel dates from 1863, it has never been equalled as a living, graphic picture of life among the old Canadians; and now, after half a century it retains its popularity to such a degree that it was worth while to seek for the cause. This is what the Abbé Roy has done, and he asks whether the work is really a novel, and not rather a series of historical pictures; whether, indeed, for Canadians of French origin it has not more the suggestion of a national epic. The characters of the novel are analysed, each in turn; the fictitious names are removed, and we come face to face with real persons of flesh and blood.

M. Ernest Myrand's second edition of his *Noëls Anciens de la Nouvelle-France*† is a much more pretentious work than the original edition of eight years ago. M. Ab der Halden furnishes with it a well written preface of four pages in which he claims that what most moves the average French-Canadian in these *Noëls Anciens* is "their historic significance and the collective life which they express,"—whatever that may mean, for these Christmas carols are almost entirely of old French origin. There are a number of fresh historical notes scattered through the new edition, having reference, amongst others, to the Abbé Daulé, the French refugee priest who arrived in Quebec in 1794 and was for twenty-six years chaplain at the Ursuline convent, during which time he prepared and published his *Recueil de Cantiques à l'usage du Diocèse de Québec.*

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* *Étude sur "Les Anciens Canadiens."* Par l'Abbé Camille Roy. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, 2nd series, vol. xii, section i, pp. 83-118.)

† *Noëls Anciens de la Nouvelle-France.* Par Ernest Myrand. 2e edition. Québec: Laflamme & Proulx, 1907. Pp. 323.

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